

# IN THESE TIMES

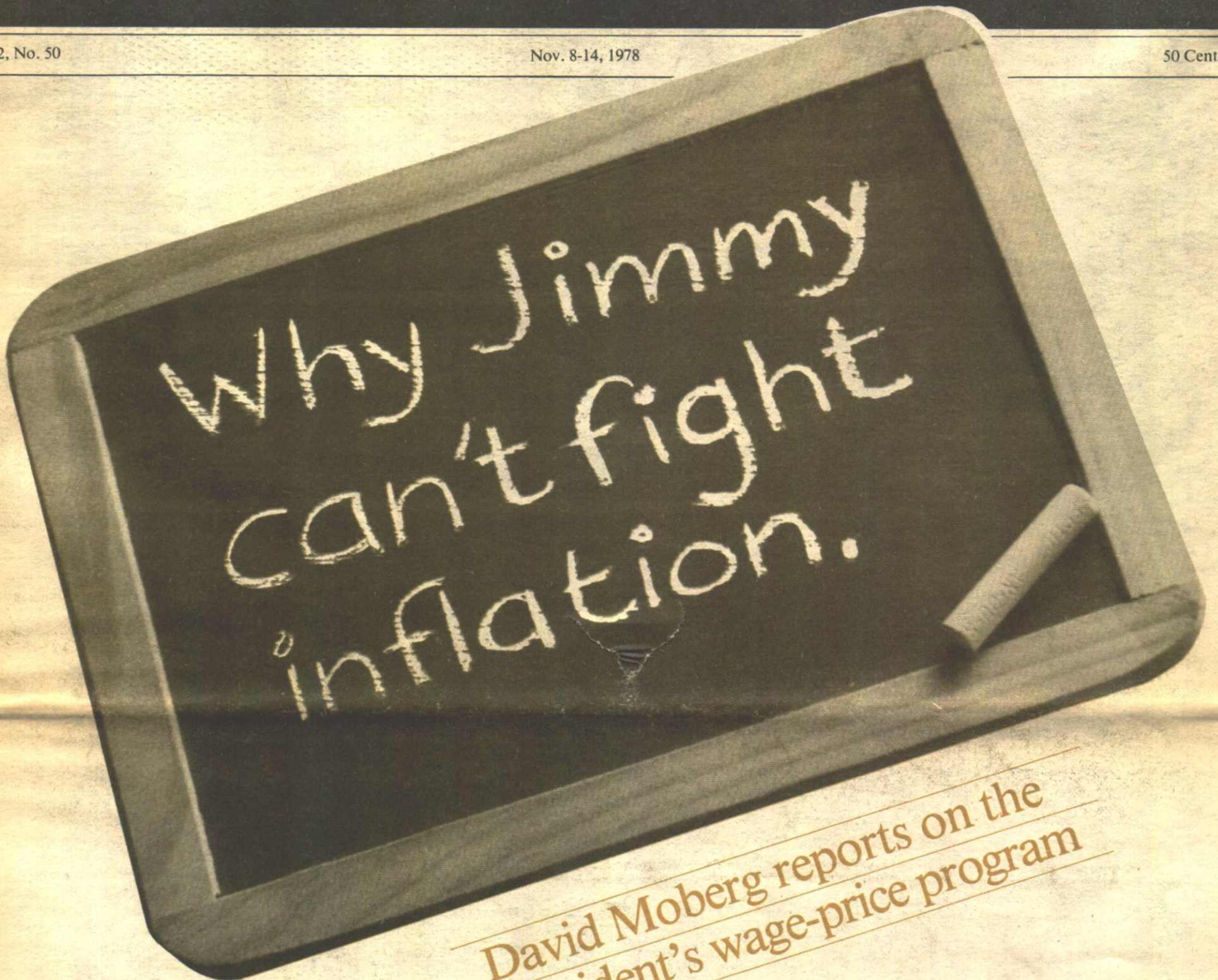
The Compleat  
Sports Guide



Vol. 2, No. 50

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50 Cents



David Moberg reports on the  
President's wage-price program

*MCDONALDS:  
WORKING  
THERE IS  
ALMOST AS  
BAD AS  
EATING  
THERE*





# THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by Jane Hilowitz



A Chinese refugee from Vietnam, as photographed by CHINA PICTORIAL.

## Vietnamese leader on differences with China

R O M E

"The fact that we have gotten rid of the Americans does not mean we have chased away imperialism forever." With these words Nguyen Khac Vien, Vietnam's most famous intellectual, now travelling in the West under UNESCO auspices, concluded a press conference here last week.

His remarks on China-Vietnam relations were followed two days later by the accusations of China's Foreign Minister, Huang Hua, in London that Vietnam is preparing a massive spring offensive against Cambodia and really has larger expansionist designs on all of Southeast Asia, an assertion for which there is absolutely no evidence.

Vien's main point was a historical one: that China was strongly against Vietnam's war of liberation and Hanoi's attempt to unite North and South Vietnam, and that this policy was elaborated by Mao himself. As late as April 20, 1975, Chinese leaders came to Hanoi to tell the Vietnamese not to liberate Saigon from the Americans. The city was liberated ten days later.

The USSR, too, tried to dissuade Hanoi from uniting the "two Vietnams," especially during and just after Krushchev's ascendancy, fearing that Hanoi's policy would harm the cause of international detente. This policy changed when it became apparent the Americans would withdraw, since they had effectively lost the war anyway. But since Vietnam is today dependent on Russia, this is not a point Vien emphasized.

### Chinese demands.

According to Vien, in the early years of the American war against Vietnam, China offered aid—on condition that Vietnam refuse all Soviet help. Vietnam rejected the offer but China gave aid anyway; at the same time, Vietnam received both technical and military assistance from the Soviet Union.

During the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist party, which was held in 1969 at the end of the Cultural Revolution, a new kind of leader and new policies came to the fore in China, still however under Mao's aegis. Those authentically revolutionary components in the Chinese party who had supported Hanoi's unification policy found themselves without power.

By 1972, when the U.S. was courting China and just before Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger paid a visit there, all Chinese aid to Vietnam was stopped. China withdrew its technicians, all Vietnamese students studying in China were sent home, and incidents began to occur along the 700-mile border China and Vietnam share.

China didn't simply shift its line because it was angling for technical aid and commercial relations with the

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U.S. as a counterweight to the Soviet Union. Relations between China and Vietnam have always been fraught with contradictions. Moreover, the Chinese and Vietnamese differed about the role Vietnam was expected to play in the world revolution.

### Different views of revolution.

The Vietnamese Communist party saw three linked foci of revolution: working class movements like those in Europe, liberation movements like those in the Third World, and, most important, the socialist countries themselves. In the '60s, China, unlike Vietnam, saw the liberation movements of the Third World as being the most important, and hoped that the Vietnamese liberation movement could spark peoples' wars throughout the Third World, especially in African and Latin America. In Chinese eyes the European working class, as well as some of the "socialist" countries, were perceived as revisionist.

There were, too, a fair number of guerilla movements in the '60s.

But in Indonesia, Africa and some parts of Latin America, these movements had short lives. The capture and murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967, and the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Communists in Indonesia, marked the end of a revolutionary era. The revolution in Cuba proved not to be contagious, and the victories of liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola had not yet occurred.

Vietnam, in disagreement with the role China had cut out for it, refused to act as a world-revolutionary guerilla leader. The Vietnamese party considered that dividing the world movement and giving guerilla warfare alone pre-eminence would be to "play the imperialist game."

Here lie the roots of China's attempt to hinder Vietnamese unification, and its attempt to dictate policy. Needless to say, a strong, united Vietnam also threatened Chinese hegemony in Southeast Asia. This question of political weight is more important than that of any territorial expansionist tendencies China might nourish.

### Man of prestige.

Vien feels the present China-Vietnam situation is more serious than it appears. Vietnam has leveled few accusations against China in the past. But this writer, at least, has the impression Vien is now the instrument for Vietnam to bring its case before the world. He is a man of prestige. He directs the foreign language publishing house for the Vietnamese government and is also editor of the journal *Etudes Vietnamiens*. He is a man the Vietnamese government trusts, and he obviously chooses his words with care.

His description of the border incidents lays full blame on China. He claims that the Chinese provoke "montagnards," members of a single ethnic group living along both sides of the China-Vietnam border, into attacking villages in northern Vietnam. The Chinese government then portrays these mountain-dwellers as being in revolt because they cannot bear life under the Hanoi regime.

An even more provocative issue concerns the Chinese living in Vietnam who fled back to China in 1975. There is a great deal of disagreement even among Vietnamese Communists as to whether these people were workers, farmers and fishermen of Chinese descent already living near the border, as Vien thinks, or disaffected merchants from Saigon who found themselves with no means of livelihood once the U.S.'s \$2 billion a year was withdrawn from the economy.

Be this as it may, Vien claims that when these people arrived at the border, the Chinese authorities would not admit them, so that those determined to cross were obliged to crawl through forests and wade across rivers

to do so—while being filmed by Chinese cameramen for later use as anti-Vietnamese propaganda ("refugees from an oppressive regime").

Vien also dealt with the Western press' frequent accusation that Vietnam is today "one big concentration camp," as even *Le Monde* wrote recently. The figure of 800,000 political prisoners is spurious. When the U.S. began to bomb the Vietnamese countryside, more than one million people flooded into Saigon, many swelling the ranks of the police, public administration and the army. Others went into commerce or became prostitutes or drug addicts. At the war's end these people could not return to the land because their villages had been destroyed. The government had to deal with this massive unproductive population.

Political antagonists of the regime, and prostitutes and addicts, were sent to "re-education camps." Those who represented a serious danger to the new government were kept in the camps (some 50,000 or 60,000 people) and the rest were freed. No one was executed; and although the government claimed it would try the hardliners within three years, it has not yet done so.

### Cambodian war.

Perhaps the most difficult issue, though, is the continuing war with Cambodia. It would be tempting to maintain that China, failing in its attempt to control Vietnam, then unleashed Cambodia along its western border. The truth, however, seems to lie elsewhere. The Cambodian government, perhaps unlike the Vietnamese, is massively repressive, and the victims of the Phnom Penh regime now total around two million people.

Cambodia's relations with Vietnam have always been extremely poor, and the war has been dragging on a long time. Only recently has it received publicity, and this is some embarrassment to China even though China is supplying Cambodia with arms. Vietnam has evacuated its border villages; the population of one village that decided to stay and trust in Buddha was entirely wiped out by Cambodian soldiers.

Horror stories are told by the some 200,000 Cambodian refugees who have fled to Vietnam, and there is some evidence that entire regiments of the Cambodian army, disillusioned with Pol Pot's policies for their country, have sided with the Vietnamese.

While Cambodian incursions into Vietnamese territory have been frequent, Vietnamese incursions into Cambodia have been minimal. (And if, as the Chinese predict, Vietnam is preparing a massive spring offensive, the prediction is an easy one; serious flooding and the rainy season make any present resumption of hostilities impossible.) The point remains that China is using Cambodian-Vietnamese enmity toward its own end of anti-Vietnamese propaganda.

Vien emphasized that weak nations are taken advantage of, and that Vietnam must constantly keep in mind a possible war with China. Hanoi is, after all, only 250 miles from the Chinese border, and Vietnam must devote resources sorely needed for development and reconstruction to defense.

Is Vietnam, then, fully in the Soviet camp? "The question is one of maintaining equilibrium in a politics of independence," in Vien's view. Nevertheless, after the war, when Vietnam wanted aid from all the socialist countries (and the capitalist countries as well), only China refused cooperation. The USSR provided industrial plant in 1954 when Vietnam gained independence from the French, gave arms in the '60s and '70s to use against the Americans, and is now furnishing technical aid. And while Vietnam considers itself a non-aligned nation, it is also a member of COMECON, the Soviet-dominated trading group. Vietnam, Vien stressed over and over again, is far from being a self-sufficient nation.

Jane Hilowitz writes regularly from Rome for IN THESE TIMES.

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# IN THE NATION

## Carter's inflation Rx is bad medicine for most Americans

By David Moherg

**D**R. JIMMY CARTER, RESPONDING more to the ailing dollar than to any feverish symptoms of domestic inflation, reached deep into the harsh, conservative side of the federal economic apothecary for an inflation remedy after his first prescription was rejected in the international money markets and was, at best, tolerated as well-intentioned at home.

At first Carter ordered a dose of slowed economic growth and a regimen of restrained wages and prices. It was voluntary, but if the patient balked, government sanctions would follow. Business leaders gave generally tepid approval to the President's Oct. 24 proposals, but labor tended to be more critical. But the crucial opinion was registered by international bankers as the dollar continued its rapid, somewhat irrational decline: give the economy an old-fashioned purgative and starve the fever.

So the good doctor, barely a week later, ordered a new cure that was likely to be worse—for most people—than the disease. On Nov. 1 the Federal Reserve raised its discount rate to banks one full point to 9.5 percent—a record one-time increase and a record rate. Also, the Fed required higher bank reserves. The measures should drive up all interest rates, which had already been soaring, and restrict credit. The government will also intervene in the money markets to buy dollars with a new \$30 billion accumulation of foreign currencies and will sell more gold.

### Phase Three is recession.

Bankers were happy. The dollar's exchange value shot up. The New York Stock Exchange registered its largest single-day gain in history. But business and labor economists predicted that the actions would send the economy into a recession next year.

"Carter moved from Phase Two (after a Phase One of exhortations) to Phase Three in a week," Lehman College professor of economics Robert Lekachman said, "and Phase Three is recession."

Prospects for the Carter plan reducing inflation from the current 9.3 percent annual rate to 6-6.5 percent next year never were very good. Barry Bosworth, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, predicted that even if the President's program were followed, workers could not expect real wage gains for several years and that food and housing costs would continue to rise sharply.

Recession brought on by restrictions on credit and government spending will probably moderate inflation more than the flexible price controls. But the political price will be great, especially for a none-too-popular Democratic president who will need blue-collar votes in 1980.

Recession does reduce inflation, as the deep slump of 1974-75 showed, but much less effectively than in the past. Bosworth estimated that one million additional workers would have to be unemployed for two years to bring down inflation merely one percentage point. That is partly because so much of the current inflation is little affected by wage changes and more attributable to structural causes—such as OPEC oil price increases, lack of

effective hospital cost controls under Blue Cross, administered pricing power of oligopolistic industries, excessive energy-intensiveness of some industries.

### Generous loophole.

Carter's original program relied heavily on reducing the federal deficit (to less than \$40 billion next year) and on strict federal hiring limits combined with a continued 5.5 percent federal pay cap. Carter also ordered government regulations to be "issued only when needed" and designed to "meet their goals at the lowest possible costs," raising the specter of lessened worker safety and environmental protection. More industry would also be deregulated.

Carter's guidelines set a maximum of an average 7 percent annual increase in wages and all fringe benefits (including cost-of-living adjustments calculated at 6 percent annual inflation) for each of three groups within a firm: management, union workers, non-union workers. Workers making less than \$4 an hour would be exempted. Also, workers who agree to explicit, productivity-enhancing work rule changes could receive more, although unions—such as the Autoworkers—think all productivity increases should be exempted. However, it appears that the wage guidelines do not permit increases for productivity that most unions take for granted.

The guidelines erode labor's conventional demands in other ways as well. Automatic increases in payroll costs, such as rising insurance premiums, are to be counted as part of the 7 percent limit. Also, there is no allowance for unions negotiating contracts next year to win "catch-up" increases to cover real wage losses during the past year.

Businesses would be limited to price increases that average one-half percent below their average annual rate of price increase during 1976-77. If wage costs decelerate by more than one-half percentage point from the base period, companies will be expected to slow down price increases proportionately. Ideally that would result in 5¼ percent price increases or less, but firms can pass on "unavoidable" price increases if they show that their before-tax profit margins are no higher than in the best two of the last three years. Firms with high price hikes in recent years still must limit themselves to 9.5 percent average increases, a generous loophole.

Wage controls are quite precise. But the price guidelines are too flexible, too full of holes and too dependent on corporate trustworthiness, according to the AFL-CIO and other critics. For example, since imports and most industrial raw materials are not covered by guidelines, any increases in their cost represent "unavoidable" price increases that can be passed through to consumers. Also, the government will rely on corporations to supply all information on base period pay increases, permitting much manipulation. Income from property—profit, interest, rent—is uncontrolled.

Past controls, such as during Nixon's first term, have tended to shift shares of national income from labor to capital. Carter's plan would do the same. "Wage and price controls, by whatever name, or-

dinarily work about half the time," Rubber Workers president Peter Bommarito said. "Wages are controlled but prices rise." The guidelines guarantee government support to patriotic employers fighting wage demands in the heavy collective bargaining schedule for next year that includes workers in trucking, construction, petroleum refining, electrical, clothing, rubber, meatpacking and auto industries as well as many public workers.

The guidelines are voluntary, but Carter offers workers the inducement of a "real wage insurance" that would provide income tax rebates—"up to some reasonable limit"—for workers who abided by the pay standard if the inflation rate exceeded 7 percent. Firms or industries that push up prices too fast could be sanctioned with relaxed import restrictions, modified federal regulations or withholding of government purchases from any of the roughly 250, mainly large-sized corporations with federal contracts of over \$5 million. However, the legality of such sanctions—let alone their effectiveness—is questionable.

Business executives who saluted the President's plan usually pooh-poohed his wage guidelines and reiterated the gospel of reduced government spending and tight money as the inflation solution. Although labor leaders were reluctant to be cast as villains causing inflation, they were more wary, often criticizing the fiscal and monetary conservatism that the business leaders admired.

### Labor's response.

The Teamsters—who will be the first big test in March—and the Autoworkers cautiously applauded the goal of the program, but wanted to see if prices drop before committing themselves. Already the leader of the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union, which was a major force in the 1970 Teamster wildcat that forced a higher wage settlement after a contract was reached, has declared that he will fight for wage and cost-of-living increases "that will exceed well over 21 percent over the triennial period." West Coast Longshoremen quickly denounced the President's plan as well.

Then, one week after Carter presented his plan, the AFL-CIO executive council rejected it as "unfair and inequitable" and asked for an emergency session of Congress to draw up mandatory, comprehensive controls on all product lines and all sources of income as an alternative.

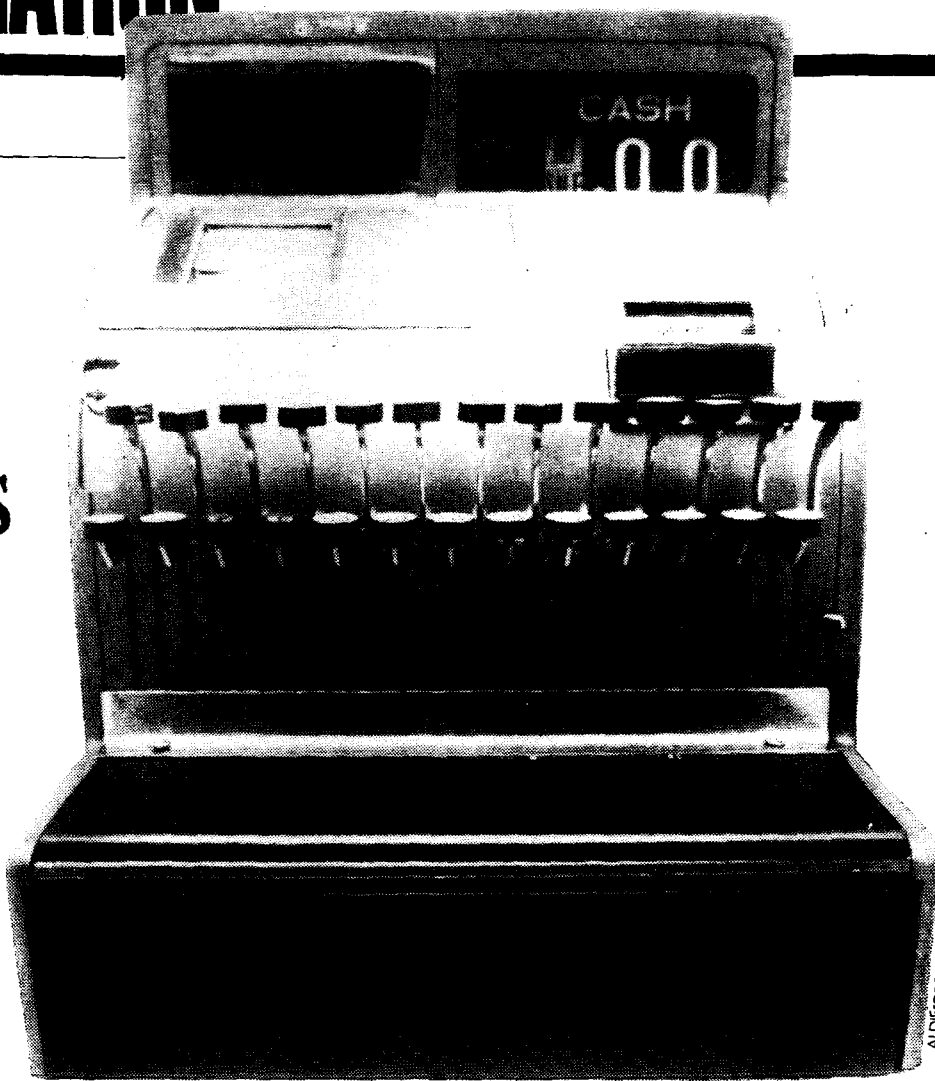
Carter's proposal was also attacked by a new labor-consumer coalition, Con-

sumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities (COIN), initiated by Gar Alperovitz's Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives. COIN representatives, including Machinist president William Winpisinger and Ralph Nader, argue that the real inflation problem centers on food, shelter, medical care and energy, which have risen in price at an annual rate of 11.6 percent this year, compared with 5.2 percent inflation of the "non-necessities."

Only specific reforms targeted to the structural failings of these sectors can control inflation in the necessities, they argue. In this regard, the Carter admin-

*Continued on page 8.*

**Carter's wage-price limits and government austerity weren't harsh enough for international bankers. They wanted a U.S. recession. So Jimmy promised them one next year.**



AP/Wide World



## POLITICAL INFLATION

## Senate, again, is millionaires' club

By Charles W. Hucker

WASHINGTON

**P**OLITICAL SPENDING IN U.S. Senate campaigns this year has reached new heights, topped by North Carolina Republican Jesse Helms, who has been derisively nicknamed the "six-million-dollar man" by his Democratic opponent (ITT, Nov. 1).

No other contender in this year's 35 Senate contests comes close to matching Helms' expenditures, according to campaign finance reports filed by candidates with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), for the period from Jan. 1, 1977, to Sept. 30, 1978.

Helms' re-election effort is the most costly since 1972, when comprehensive campaign finance disclosures first were required by federal law.

Not all of the \$6 million raised by Helms has been available for traditional campaign tools, such as television, advertising, political staff and printed literature. About half the amount has gone for fund-raising expenses.

Carter Wrenn, staff director and treasurer of Helms' campaign committee, said about \$3 million has been spent for nationwide direct mail solicitations. Most of that has gone to firms headed by Richard Viguerie, who is at the forefront of the new right political movement.

The direct-mail effort has yielded a considerable return for Helms. His campaign's FEC reports show that \$4.7 million, or 79 percent of his total receipts, was from individuals who gave less than \$100 apiece.

Even after deducting the \$3 million for fund-raising, Helms has more money to spend on his campaign than all the other Senate candidates this year except one. The hefty Helms budget is sufficient to hire a paid staff of 100 full-time workers and 50 part-timers.

In addition to Helms, seven other Senate nominees already have surpassed the million-dollar barrier in spending this year. They are Sen. John G. Tower, R-Texas, (\$3.2 million); Rep. Robert "Bob" Krueger, Tower's Democratic foe in Texas, (\$1.7 million); Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., (\$1.3 million) Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C. (\$1.3 million); Bill Bradley, the Democratic nominee in New Jersey, (\$1.2 million); Rudy Boschwitz, the Republican opponent of Sen. Wendell R. Anderson of Minnesota, (\$1.2 million), and Robert E. Short, the Democratic nominee in Minnesota for the unexpired term of the late Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, (\$1.1 million).

Along with those eight \$1 million campaigns, at least another six Senate aspirants are likely to exceed the \$1 million mark. That would make a greater number of million-dollar campaigns than at any time in the 1970s. There were ten candidates in 1976 who spent more than \$1 million; seven in 1974 and four in 1972.

In the 21 months of the 1978 campaign beginning on Jan. 1, 1977, the combined spending of the Senate candidates already was at the same level of the combined expenditures of the 1976 Senate candidates for the full 24-month campaign period. During the 1978 campaign 69 candidates in 35 Senate contests have spent \$40.6 million (an average of \$588,386) in 21 months. In 1976, 64 contenders in 33 contests expended \$38.1 million (an average of \$595,386) in 24 months.

Herbert Alexander, director of the Citizens Research Foundation and a campaign finance expert, said the gradual rise in prices through the 1970s has affected political campaigns adversely, as well as families.

Tennessee's Baker is one of the Senate candidates who have felt the pinch of inflation. Six years ago Baker's campaign

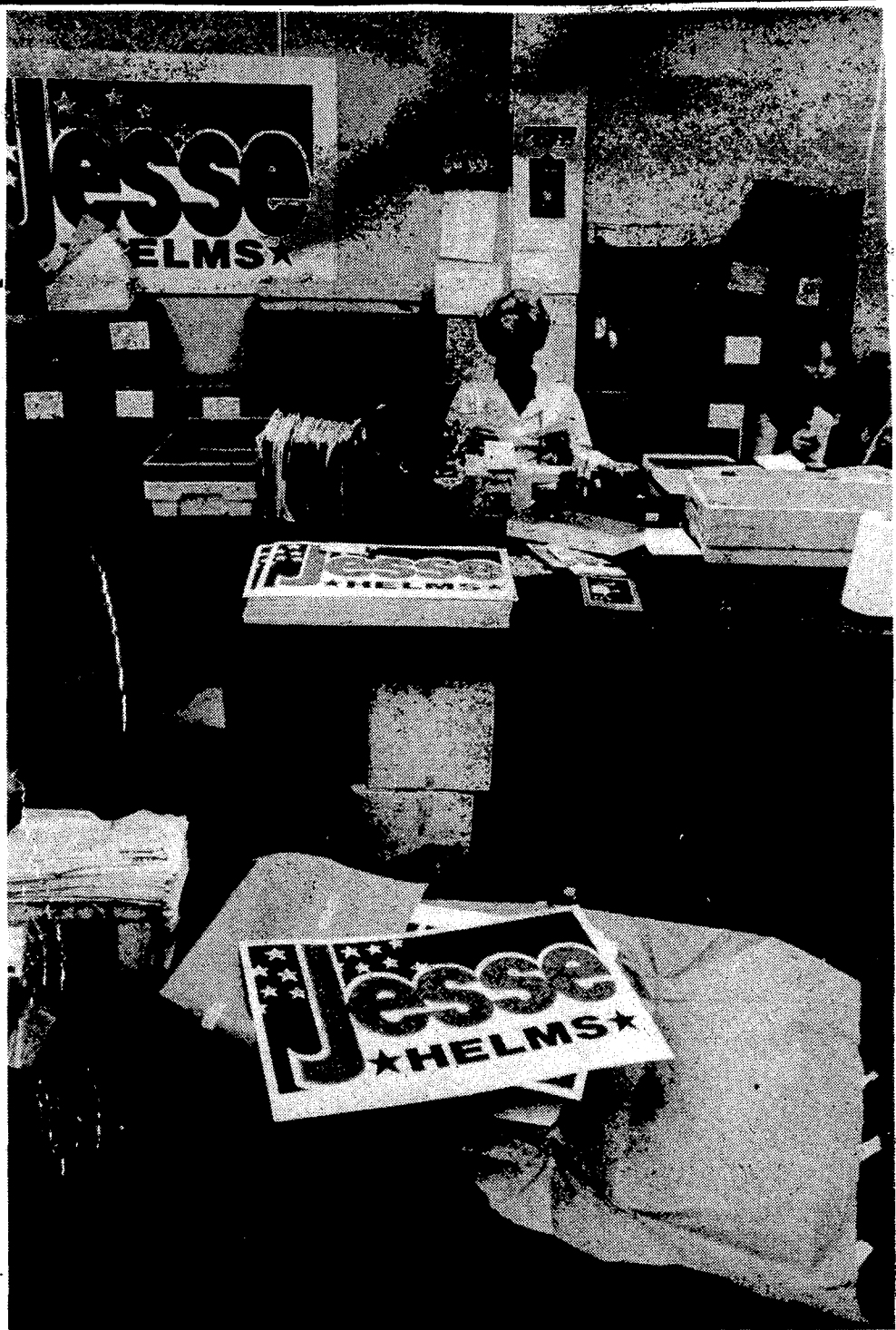
All told, fourteen senatorial campaigns are expected to cost at least \$1 million in this most expensive campaign year.

cost \$1.3 million. Michael Adams, his campaign manager, said it would cost \$2.2 million to run that same campaign today. Instead, the Baker re-election drive has tightened its belt and is budgeting \$1,725,000 for this year.

To save money, the Baker campaign has a paid staff of about 20 persons compared with about 30 in 1970. Some of the operations of the Re-elect Sen. Baker Committee are more mechanized than the Baker campaign six years ago; campaign finance reports are prepared by computer and direct-mail funds solicitation is done by Baker campaign workers rather than by a paid outside firm.

Congress attempted in 1974 to limit the rise in campaign costs by placing ceilings on congressional election expenditures. However, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down those limits in January 1976.

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Raleigh News &amp; Observer

## ENERGY/INFLATION

## Energy plan favors corporations

By David Moberg

**T**HE CONGRESSIONAL ENERGY battle went down to the wire, but in the end the news for consumers was bad — much higher energy costs, but still no coherent beginning of a transition to safe, economical, renewable energy.

The prospects for next year's energy legislation are dismal, too, because the Carter administration appears determined to push up the price of oil despite the damage such action would cause to Carter's crusade against inflation.

The heart of the energy package was the natural gas phased deregulation bill (ITT, Sept. 27), even though it differed greatly from the gas regulation plan that Carter proposed in his April 1977 National Energy Plan.

Opponents of the gas bill in the House hoped to split it from the rest of the energy package. But House Democratic leaders realized that many Representatives who had doubts about gas deregulation would nevertheless vote for it rather than turn down all energy legislation. First, it took serious arm-twisting by the administration to break a Rules Committee deadlock on the question of dividing the energy package. Then the House agreed by the narrowest margin, 207 to 206, to consider all five parts of the energy legislation together. Only a Senate filibuster for a day by retiring Sen. James Abourezk delayed final approval after that.

Besides the phased deregulation of natural gas, which will cost gas users somewhere between \$29 and \$41 billion between now and 1985, the energy package included tax credits for insulation and solar energy devices, tax penalties on "gas guzzler" cars, instructions to state regulatory agencies about desirable utility reforms, limited financial aid for conservation, efficiency standards for new appliances, and a very loose requirement for

utilities and large industries to switch to coal rather than oil or gas.

Although the Department of Energy projected that the legislation could save from 2.4 to 2.9 million barrels of oil per day by 1985 out of an expected 11.5 to 16 million barrels that would otherwise be imported, there are good reasons to be-

**The Carter administration is determined to push up the price of oil, despite anti-inflation talk.**

lieve that oil imports will hardly be affected. Nearly half of the savings is attributed to the gas bill, but the Energy Information Administration had earlier estimated the potential import savings from the gas bill at roughly one-fifth the optimistic Department of Energy projection. Any reduction of oil imports, consequently, is likely to be bought at a price far exceeding expected costs of an imported barrel of oil. Even worse, some analysts feel that many businesses will actually switch from gas to imported oil.

The bill will also give a boost to electric power, a principal alternative to gas for residential and commercial space and water heating. That in turn may encourage the nuclear power industry. "By sharply raising gas prices," energy expert Barry Commoner told an October meeting of Critical Mass, the Nader-initiated anti-nuclear group, "the deregulation bill is a covert way to rescue the nuclear power industry from economic collapse."

The administration had argued vigorously that without higher natural gas prices, the country would soon run out of gas. Yet within a couple weeks after

the deregulation bill was passed, industry and administration officials admitted that there was "a gas glut now that could run on for three or four years," in the words of a top Energy Department policymaker quoted by the *Washington Post*. Also, huge new gas reserves in Alberta, Canada—possibly double the size of those in the Alaska north slope—have been discovered. Canadian oil companies, actually dominated by Texaco, Exxon, Amoco and other U.S. companies, will be anxious to export to the U.S., where they now can get much higher prices than in Canada.

Although Carter was disappointed by the failure of Congress to pass his well-head tax on oil to raise domestic oil prices to OPEC levels, it is virtually certain that the administration will return next year with some form of legislation to boost oil prices. Even without new legislation, Carter could simply let existing oil price controls expire by 1981 or abolish them next spring. The administration could decide effectively to abolish them gradually by redefining more and more "old oil" now priced at \$5.90 a barrel as new oil, selling at more than double that price. The composite price for U.S. oil is now \$10.58 a barrel, rising at a rate of 12 percent annually as the proportion of "new oil" increases. Imported oil costs refiners \$14.50 a barrel.

Carter may propose a "windfall profits tax," exempting cash put back into productive facilities, instead of the crude oil tax from the national energy plan. Oil companies reportedly favor that alternative.

Despite the great hurrah about passing an energy plan, "the country still needs an energy plan," Commoner said, "a plan that will combat the main symptom of the energy crisis—the rapidly escalating price of energy and the resultant inflation—and that takes the only action that can solve the crisis—a transition toward a renewable, solar-based energy system."



## CONGRESS

## 95th Congress taxes the imagination

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

**I**N ITS CLOSING WEEKS, THE 95TH Congress, with some help from Jimmy ("investigate corporate power") Carter, outdid itself. To fight big government, it sustained Carter's \$2 billion water project veto.

Meanwhile, it approved a \$117.3 billion arms budget. If this budget rises 3 percent a year, as Carter has projected, the 1983 military budget will break the post-World War II peacetime record.

To fight inflation, Congress ripped the flesh off the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, eliminating enforcement provisions, and making the bill's 1983 goal of 4 percent unemployment conditional upon the reduction of inflation to 3 percent.

At the same time, it passed a natural gas bill that *guaranteed* a 9 to 12 percent yearly jump in natural gas prices for the next five years. After that, the sky's the limit.

But the tax bill, which began as Carter's tax "reform" proposal and ended up as the Revenue Act of 1978, was the final indignity. Its passage prompted Ralph Nader to call the 95th the "corporate congress." But it was not merely a pro-business bill. Most legislation is pro-business. But this was flagrantly pro-rich. One would have to scour old *Congressional Records* to find a bill so oblivious of equalitarian ideals.

Yet it passed with little opposition: 72 to 3 in the Senate and 337 to 38 in the House. Only Sen. Ted Kennedy demanded that Carter veto it.

If there was ever any doubt about Carter signing it, it was put to rest last week when he told cheering Miami Democrats that he would.

### Tax reform principles.

Tax policy is notoriously difficult to understand, which may be one reason why the present bill has elicited so little protest. Rather than plunging immediately into the abyss, it is advisable to lay out some general principles of tax policy.

1. *Tax expenditures vs. direct expenditures:* Lyndon Johnson's Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Stanley Surrey developed the concept of tax expenditures. The federal tax code contains a fairly progressive tax schedule that is dotted with "loopholes" or special tax breaks designed to please special interests or generally to stimulate business. Instead of seeing these as money that is not paid to the Treasury, one can see them as income that the Treasury receives and then gives back in the form of a "tax expenditure."

Surrey liked this way of describing loopholes because it brought home the difference between a tax expenditure and a direct expenditure. Direct expenditures, where Congress allocates a certain amount of money in welfare relief or in corporate subsidies, invariably come under greater congressional scrutiny; and they can involve *quid pro quo's* that will ensure the expenditure is used in the manner intended.

Corporations prefer tax expenditures to direct expenditures because they involve less government supervision of their operations.

Labor's left-wing and the tax reform movement have always preferred direct expenditures. They argue that if Congress had to pass special grants for businesses to fly their executives first-class, they would be reluctant to do so. Or if instead of granting corporations several billions in tax relief by lowering the corporate income tax, it was proposed to allocate those billions directly, Congress might become less generous.

2. *Redistribution, economic growth, and special interests.* In every tax bill in the last 30 years, there have always been three compelling considerations: redistribu-

tion, economic growth, and special interests. Even the 1969 Nixon proposals closed some loopholes.

In his 1976 campaign, Carter promised a "total overhaul" of the tax system, to eliminate loopholes in favor of a uniform system that would redistribute income and stimulate business without the usual nods toward special interests. But Carter's trial balloons in summer 1977 were quickly shot down.

His January proposal was a pale shadow of these original professions. It did, however, bow toward tax reform: the cuts in the income tax were weighted toward lower incomes; deductions on such items as three-Martini lunches, first-class air travel and Super Bowl tickets were to be reduced or eliminated; and taxes on the overseas and export earnings of American multinationals would no longer be deferred or excused.

3. *Investment credit vs. capital gains.* To stimulate corporate investment, Carter was unwilling to use direct expenditures. He did nevertheless have various instruments at his disposal. At one extreme, making the 10 percent investment tax credit permanent (allowing businesses to deduct 10 percent of their investment expenses from their final tax bill) would directly confront business' unwillingness to invest. Lowering corporate income taxes would increase their revenue, but would not directly address the investment problem. And enlarging the loophole on capital gains, which removes half of the earnings from the sale of stock, land, and other property from taxation, would only affect business investment indirectly. It is of much more direct interest to the wealthy individual.

Carter therefore emphasized the invest-

## TOTAL TAX DEDUCTIONS IN THE REVENUE ACT OF 1978

Income (\$) <sup>1</sup>	Average tax cut (-) <sup>2</sup>	Social Security increase (+) <sup>3</sup>	Net tax charge	Original Carter proposal <sup>3</sup>
0-5,000	\$38	\$14	-\$24	(n.a.)
5-10,000	89	28	- 61	(-\$248)
10-15,000	80	42	- 38	(- 216)
15-20,000	136	261	+ 125	(- 9)
20-30,000	239	439	+ 200	(+ 119)
30-50,000	458	439	- 19	(+ 221)
50-100,000	1,153	439	- 714	(+ 359)
100-200,000	2,235	439	- 1,796	(+ 1,029)
200,000 and up	13,691	439	- 13,262	(n.a.)

<sup>1</sup>Family of four.

<sup>2</sup>Includes not only income tax reductions, but also capital gains tax reductions.

<sup>3</sup>Figures apply to highest income within the bracket.

Source: Tax Reform Research Group, U.S. Treasury Dept.

Table: John Judis



Dr. Richard W. Rahn (left) is the executive director of the American Council for Capital Formation. Sitting in his Washington office, Rahn acknowledged that the campaign for further capital gains tax reductions was "directed at this office."

## Carter's original tax proposals were merely pro-business. The tax bill that Congress passed is blatantly pro-rich.

ment tax credit in his proposal and secondarily the cut in corporate taxes. Far from advocating an enlargement of the capital gains loophole, he advocated that it be slightly shrunk. In this respect, Carter's original proposal reflected what might be called a class-conscious corporatism as opposed to a simple-minded pro-rich attitude.

### Down with reform.

But when the House and Senate got through with Carter's proposals, little remained of the reforms. The income tax cuts were regressive—7 percent was deducted from each income bracket with the result that the 75 percent of taxpayers who earn under \$20,000 get only 37 percent of the tax benefits, while the top 2 percent get 15 percent of the benefits.

Except for eliminating deductions on corporate hunting lodges, Congress gutted all the Carter reforms. It refused to eliminate loopholes on the earnings of multinationals. In order to produce a bill that would cost less than \$20 billion, the House-Senate conferees cut tax breaks for the elderly, single parents, and the handicapped, while providing new loopholes for the slot machine, timber and magazine businesses.

It even postponed the enactment of one of the few reforms in Gerald Ford's 1976 tax bill: a proposal that would have subjected inherited property to a capital gains tax based on the difference between its original value and its value upon the death of its owner.

But nothing Congress did compared with its action on capital gains. Led by Richard W. Rahn and Charles Walker of the American Council for Capital Formation, a horde of lobbyists descended upon Congress to argue for making 70, not 50, percent of capital gains free from income taxation.

The proponents of this cut tried to show that it was not simply a give-away to the rich. This should have been difficult. The top 2 percent of taxpayers receive 75 percent of capital gains relief, and given that 85 percent of capital gains come from land or commodity speculation, and not from stock investments, a

cut in capital gains would seem an unlikely candidate for stimulating productive investments.

But the lobbyists and their congressional allies trotted out a host of semi-specious arguments. Blaming the fall in stock prices since 1969 on the rise then in capital gains taxes (ignoring that stock prices rose again in the early '70s, only to plummet with the recession), they contended that the tax cut would encourage stocks sales and purchases and drive stock prices up. With stock prices up, corporations would be less likely to use their profits to buy up corporations and more likely to use them on new plant and equipment.

They also argued that, in any case, increased capital gains transactions would increase net federal revenue from a reduced tax.

Finally, they brought out the dreams of small-town America. In response to Sen. Kennedy's attacks on the capital gains tax cut, Sen. Charles Percy (R-IL), the ex-chairman of Bell & Howell, spoke eloquently of the "couple that stopped me last weekend and said they had built a home 35 years ago for \$15,000 and were going to sell it for \$75,000. They were enraged at the thought that they would have confiscated, have the so-called profit, as they move into a rented apartment, taken away from them."

Of course, Percy didn't mention that the tax bill already contained a provision that would exempt the elderly on taxes from the sale of their homes.

Unfortunately, the American Council's strategy worked. Senators and House members got thousands of calls from small businessmen and homeowners urging them to enlarge the capital gains loophole.

And Congress finally settled on increasing the shelter from 50 percent to 60 percent. When these reductions are figured in with the income tax cuts, taxpayers with an income of \$5000 or less get an average net cut of \$38, while taxpayers with an income of \$200,000 or more get an average net cut of \$13,691.

Congress also satisfied the corporations' desires. The 10 percent investment

*Continued on page 18.*



## MIGRATING POISON

## Banned chemical moves to Mexico

By Larry Remer

SACRAMENTO

**C**AVING IN TO A CONCERTED lobbying effort by agribusiness, the California Department of Food and Agriculture is preparing to lift its prohibitions against the use of the controversial pesticide DBCP in California—the only state where such a ban is in effect.

DBCP—or dibromochloropropane—received national notoriety last summer when it was discovered that 14 workers at Occidental Chemical's Stockton plant where the pesticide is produced were either sterile or had low sperm counts. Subsequent tests showed the same effects on 62 of the 86 employees of Dow Chemical's DBCP plant in Magnolia, Ark.

In the wake of those revelations, California and federal officials issued emergency bans against the manufacture and use of DBCP. But chemical and agribusiness interests went immediately to work to get government agencies to modify the ban.

In April, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) lifted its DBCP ban with regard to some products. This paved the way for DBCP use in every state but California where state regulations continued in effect.

Because of jurisdictional prerogatives of various governmental agencies, lifting the EPA ban on use of DBCP did not affect its manufacture. There, regulations promulgated by the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) are in effect and a one-part-per-billion safe-

ty tolerance has been imposed. This has effectively perpetuated the ban of DBCP production in the U.S.

To get around this problem, American growers have begun importing DBCP from plants in northern Mexico, just below the U.S. border. And once again, workers are suffering sterility and low sperm counts.

Dr. Enrique Marquez Mayaudon, a Mexican health expert, tested 23 DBCP workers at two Mexicali plants in December and again in April. At the Quimica Organica de Mexico plant, half the 12-man DBCP workforce had zero sperm counts, while the rest had "very low sperm counts." And at a second plant—Quimica Agrosano—three workers had zero sperm counts, six had low counts, and two were not affected. Mayaudon said he found zero sperm counts among workers who'd been exposed to DBCP dust over periods ranging from seven months to two-and-a-half years.

Due to increased demand from the U.S., the Quimica Organica plant has expanded production from 2,000 to 3,000 tons per year. Quimica Agrosano has also stepped up its output significantly since the DBCP ban in the U.S. took effect.

Representatives of the United Farm Workers of America have opposed the reintroduction of DBCP into the fields of California because of the potential danger to workers and consumers. "There is no proof how little or how much DBCP makes men sterile," declared a union spokesman.

These claims were echoed by Ralph Lightstone, an attorney for California



Barrels of DBCP, the chemical that caused sterility in American workers, and is now being manufactured in Mexico.

Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA), a public interest/poverty law firm that works mostly in rural areas. "The real issue," declared Lightstone, "is whether the pressure from agribusiness on Gov. Brown will outweigh the dangers of DBCP."

Lightstone testified before state hearings held by the Department of Food and Agriculture that reduced sperm counts had been found among farmworkers who had applied DBCP to crops in a study conducted by the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta.

"Actually, we've been eating DBCP since 1954," Lightstone told IN THESE TIMES. "That's when it was registered for use. And it wasn't until last summer's revelations that DBCP was banned on carrots, radishes, broccoli and other root crops where residues have shown up afterwards."

California grape and tree fruit farmers have been pressing the argument that without DBCP they will suffer \$151 million in crop losses next year. DBCP, they say, is the only way to control nematode worms which attack the roots of vines and trees.

Lightstone disputes those figures, not-

ing that California had a healthy citrus and fruit industry before 1954 when DBCP was introduced for commercial use.

The final decision is up to Richard E. Romminger, director of the Department of Food and Agriculture. Romminger was appointed to that post 18 months ago to replace Rose Bird, who left the Brown cabinet to become Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court. Bird left behind a great deal of enmity from the agribusiness community for her role in shaping the California Farm Labor Act, which gave farmworkers the right to vote for a union to represent them.

Brown's appointment of Romminger was seen as an appeasement move towards agribusiness, and Romminger has worked hard to effect a rapprochement between the Brown administration and the state's largest industry. The expected approval for reintroduction of DBCP, while likely to raise the hackles of farmworkers and their supporters, will do much to help offset the negative Brown image among agribusiness.

Larry Remer is IN THESE TIMES' California correspondent.

## LAW &amp; ORDER

## FBI told Kissinger about Tongsun Park in 1971

By Alan M. MacRobert

**T**HE NIXON WHITE HOUSE, THE State Department, the Justice Department, the FBI and an unidentified U.S. intelligence agency all knew the essentials of the Koreagate scandal in 1971 and covered it up. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the 721 pages just released by the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, which is conducting an inquiry into Korean-American relations.

Among the documents the Committee released are declassified summaries of Top Secret "eyes only" letters that former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover sent to Attorney General John Mitchell and then-Presidential Assistant Henry Kissinger. The letters are dated Nov. 24, 1971, but they echo with late-'70s news. In the letters Hoover stated that:

- Tongsun Park made payments to a member of Congress with money received in rice deals.

- Tongsun Park was under the direction of the Korean CIA.

- The Korean government spent large sums to develop control over American and Korean journalists in the U.S.

- The Blue House, South Korea's presidential mansion, was directly involved in channeling several hundred thousand dollars to the Democratic Party.

- A congressional staff aide (Suzy Park Thompson in the office of House Speaker Carl Albert) was under Korean CIA control.

Hoover concluded the letters, "(deleted—a U.S. intelligence agency) has specifically requested that any dissemination of this information be limited" to Mitchell and Kissinger. "In view of these restric-

tions, this Bureau is initiating no investigation in this matter."

Two months later, on Feb. 3, 1972, Hoover informed Mitchell and Kissinger that a representative had sought campaign contributions from South Korean President Park Chung Hee himself. The representative told President Park that Tongsun Park ought to be put in charge of the Korean influence and lobbying efforts in the U.S., and also should be named as the chief Korean agent for rice purchases from the U.S. The representative's name

## FBI criminal investigations were stopped on orders from someone higher up.

was deleted before the letter was made public.

Another early memo on the Korean influence campaign that the committee released was sent from one FBI official, W.R. Wannall, to another, E.S. Miller. "While criminal activities are strongly indicated warranting Bureau investigation," the memo says, "we are stopped from conducting such investigations because of [deleted] restrictions [deleted]. Accordingly, as in our previous communications, Dr. Kissinger and the AG [Mitchell] are being advised in the attached that because of the restrictions imposed, we are taking no investigative actions."

After the committee obtained Hoover's letters it called Kissinger and Mitchell for questioning. Both said they never saw the letters, and speculated that they got lost in the paper shuffle handled by their staffs.

Mitchell, who had been managing Nixon's re-election, testified that if he had seen a report on major bribes to Demo-

crats, "I'm sure I would have recognized and remembered it."

Kissinger said, "If officials knew that they could get to me by classifying something Top Secret 'eyes only,' you would get every document in the government classified Top Secret 'eyes only....' I would not say that there was a rule that anything that was classified Top Secret would automatically be held for me." Not even, apparently, a very private letter to him from J. Edgar Hoover.

Committee staff say that since they

have no proof that Kissinger and Mitchell are lying, the committee does not plan to accuse them of a deliberate cover-up.

Perhaps the most enlightening testimony came from William Porter, former ambassador to South Korea. Innocently enough, he summed up the entire spirit of the times: "Out in the field I sensed a good deal of permissiveness on the part of the U.S. government generally, as far as our Korean friends were concerned," he said. "I think there was at least one case referred to Justice, maybe more than that, to look into it, and nothing ever seemed to happen. I assumed...the lack of reaction from Washington where it was all happening right here in our front yard, so to speak, was due to a lack of desire to make things difficult for an ally who was contributing so much to the Vietnam effort."

The committee's investigation of Korean activities in the U.S. ended Oct. 31. The final report is now being drafted and will be released in mid-November.

On another front, committee sources say the report will include material highly damaging to Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the Korean founder of the right-wing Unification Church. "Moonies" (there are several thousand in the U.S.) believe that Moon is literally the Messiah, the second coming of Jesus who will purify the human race. The cult has gained a fearsome reputation in middle-class America due to the powerful mind-control techniques it uses on young people to convince them to renounce their families and former lives. The Unification Church is militantly pro-South Korea, and has been deeply mixed up with the Korean CIA since it was founded in the early '60s. One of the U.S. intelligence documents the committee released told of a Korean government proposal in 1970 to place all Korean lobbyists in Washington under Tongsun Park's control; one of those named was Col. Pak Bo Hi, Moon's right-hand man and a major power behind the rise of the Unification Church in America.

Apparently anticipating the committee's report, the Moonies have been building up a crescendo of attacks on the committee and its chairman, Rep. Donald Fraser (D-MN). They have been calling Fraser a Soviet agent and a religious prosecutor who will go down in history with King Herod and the Emperor Nero. The Moonies campaigned against Fraser in his primary race for Hubert Humphrey's Senate seat. Fraser, one of the most consistent liberals in Congress, lost to a right-winger, Robert Short. It is possible, however, that the Moonies' efforts gained Fraser more votes than they lost him. ■ Alan MacRobert is a staff writer for the Cambridge Real Paper, where this story first appeared.



## POLITICAL SPYING

## New law aims at spying on employees

Michigan leftists' suit leads to action against corporate blacklisting.

By George Corsetti

**O**N JAN. 1, 1979, THE NATION'S first comprehensive law to protect workers from political spying by their bosses will take effect. The Michigan legislature passed the law in response to recent disclosures of past surveillance by corporate and government officials working together.

The new rules prohibit employer collection of information about worker First Amendment activities; permit access to many files maintained by employers and allow employees to place statements in their files if they feel information is unfair or inaccurate. They also require employee notification if disciplinary reports are sent outside the corporation.

While Michigan has had a long history of blacklisting, goon squads and police and company informants, a lawsuit uncovering a close working relationship between corporations and political intelligence units of various law enforcement agencies triggered renewed concern with these problems. The suit, brought by local activists against Detroit and Michigan state police produced a deluge of secret political files, not only from the police, but also from Chrysler.

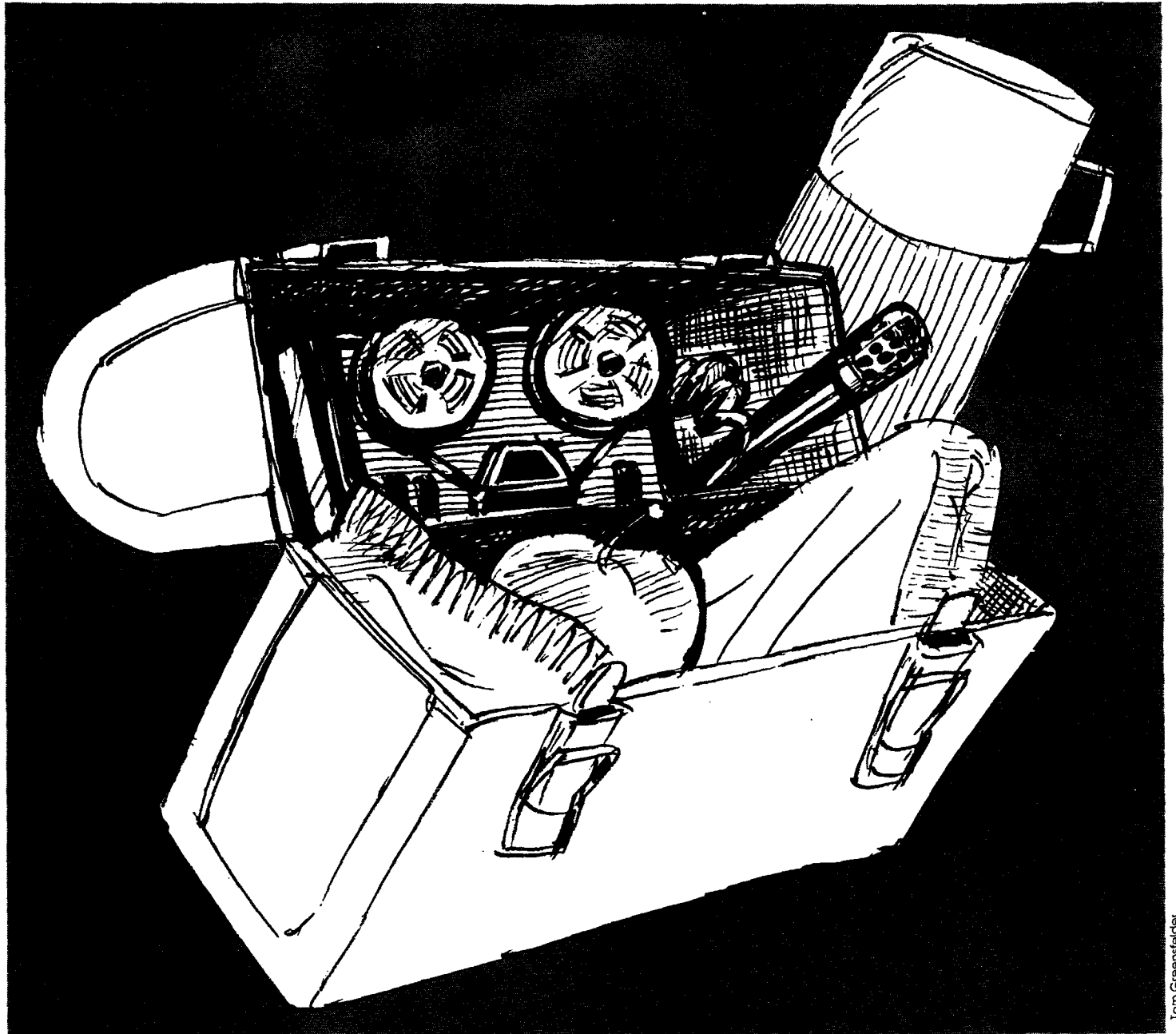
The files, along with sworn testimony of corporate security officials, indicated a meticulous record keeping system strikingly similar to the police's. The files included names and license plate numbers of persons distributing literature at plant gates, copies of literature, photos, news clippings, reports of government "Un-American Committees," and organizational charts of dissident groups and personal and political affiliations of employees and non-employees.

The corporation also received police informant reports of out-of-plant meetings of union dissidents. Chrysler also admitted to having placed a police informant among workers on the line as "a general, all-around informant... Anything he saw or heard, he'd tell the police."

The corporation security officials, many of whom had previous experience with police spy units, freely admitted to cooperating with police spy units, freely admitted to cooperating with law enforcement agencies and providing them with information. "If they [the FBI] ask me if a person is a member of an organization, I determine that from these records... If he's distributed the type of literature relating to a particular organization, I'll give that information," one security agent testified.

Chrysler files included accounts of one organizer's foreign travels, information from his bank account and updates after he had been fired. Another worker's file showed a notation for the personnel department to "notify [chief of security] when employee terminates." When he re-applied to the company in 1974—when the corporation was actively hiring—he was not hired even though he had a flawless work record. His file included evidence of post-employment updating and private sector information gathering. The personnel department had been instructed to "advise plant protection as to the name of [any firm] to which he may apply for employment using Chrysler as a reference."

In another case of corporate-police cooperation, the Michigan state police admitted giving information from their "subversive" files to Panax Corporation, a conservative Michigan-based newspaper chain with extensive holdings in South



Tom Greenfelder

Africa. Panax used the information to do background checks on employees and job applicants.

The ideological bent of this blacklisting operation is explicit. Frank Shepherd, executive vice-president of the corporation reportedly admitted receiving information, and defended the practice, saying, "I see nothing wrong with it. Not if we're going to keep a free country. If you have information, subversive information, I think that information ought to be shared with private enterprise."

While activists were fired or harassed

as part of a national strategy to disrupt organizations and individual's lives, one Detroit police report shows these attempts were not always successful: "Industry has been cautioned on occasion re: one of these people, who have (sic) obtained employment within their company. But they failed to get rid of the subject until he has involved himself so heavily in the unions that it is impossible to do so without large labor problems."

The employee files legislation was supported actively by a local anti-spy group, the Michigan Coalition to End Govern-

ment Spying, which held a demonstration at the state capitol and assisted worker-victims in providing testimony at hearings. Opposing the law were corporate interests, including General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, Shell Oil, the Manufacturers Association and Chamber of Commerce. Their pressure achieved a watering down of several provisions, but the new law is expected to open the door to employee access and limit more obvious abuses.

George Corsetti is an attorney in Detroit.

## CANCER

## Union sues asbestos companies

By Larry Remer

**A**RMED WITH REVELATIONS that 15 major American asbestos manufacturers deliberately concealed medical reports warning of the health dangers of asbestos, a \$1 billion class-action lawsuit has been filed on behalf of 5,000 southern California workers to recover accrued damages and "unjustly made profits."

The suit, which has been brought by Local 9 of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, AFL-CIO, cites evidence of willful neglect for the health of workers exposed to asbestos by the manufacturers. The practice came to light early last month during hearings held in San Francisco into occupational health hazards by a House subcommittee.

According to Rep. George Miller (D-CA), the chair of the subcommittee on compensation, health, and safety of the House Committee on Education and Labor, documents made available to members of this subcommittee "indicate a knowledge of the health risks from asbestos as early as 1934 by high level members of the industry."

"Even more disturbing," Miller told reporters, was evidence strongly suggesting that "some corporate officials initiated a cover-up of known danger. Letters dated 1934 urged researchers to delete compromising data from their study of asbestos."

The hearings, the lawsuit, and an investigative series on the problem by *Los Angeles Times* reporter Henry Weinstein have riveted public attention in California on the asbestos problem. This has delighted rank-and-file union activists across the state who have been clamoring for action to combat the cancer and asbestosis epidemic that workers exposed to asbestos are facing.

Medical evidence seems to finger asbestos as the country's number one job-related health hazard. Dr. Philip Polakoff, a Berkeley physician who specializes in occupational medicine, told Miller's subcommittee that:

•More than 1.6 million of the four million workers who have been heavily exposed to asbestos since World War II will probably die of asbestos-related diseases.

•About 67,000 cancer cases each year, representing 17 percent of the total cancer patients in the U.S., are attributed to

exposure to asbestos;

•In addition to cancer, asbestos exposure also leads to asbestosis—a severe and irreversible scarring of the lungs that can also cause death.

Citing the subcommittee's findings, attorneys for the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers have put forth the contention that the asbestos companies over the years were "unjustly enriched by the profits of their continued manufacture and sale of asbestos during the period of their concealment of the facts." Had the dangers been known, either precautions could have been taken or the manufacture of asbestos could have been banned altogether. Instead, the asbestos companies "unjustly profited in human life" and the workers' suit seeks recovery of these "unjust profits," which total about \$1 billion.

Defendants in the Shipbuilding Workers suit are Johns-Manville, Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc., Owens-Corning Fiberglass Corp., Celotex, Philip Carey Corp., Eagle-Picher Industries, Pittsburgh-Corning Corp., Unarco Industries, Inc., Standard Asbestos Manufacturing & Insulating, Ruberoid Co., Keene Corp., Armstrong Cork Co., H.K. Porter, and Amorex.



## FRUSTRATION

## Even Superior Graphite can give you black lung

By Al DiFranco

**T**HERE ARE NO GANGS WRITING graffiti on the walls of Bedford Park, a quiet residential neighborhood on Chicago's southwest side, but graphite blowing in the wind is much tougher to erase.

The elderly residents of the modest brick row houses and bungalows that border Bedford Park's factories live in a fine mist of graphite—the stuff that lead pencils and powdered lubricants for locks are made of—that settles on the block when the wind blows from the southwest.

Cats and dogs walking across soot-covered lawns leave ink-black pawprints on the sidewalks, prints that have to be scrubbed before they begin to fade in the rain.

Conscientious housekeepers dust black powder from furniture several times a day. And by now they know they'll have to bleach their pillowcases if they fail to shampoo the stuff out of their hair each night before going to bed.

There have been meetings, petitions and protests since August 1975, but so far the best solution seems to be a strong cleaning fluid.

Upwind, at Superior Graphite Company and Bearcat Tire Company, no one is willing to admit whose black powder is to blame.

According to Bedford Park environmental coordinator Lincoln Scott, it's not carbon black—the product of Bearcat Tire—but graphite from Superior. Scott claims fugitive dust from graphite dumping on a windy day is the cause.

Two weeks ago, Scott told Superior to

"clean up their bad habits" and start loading trucks inside the plant, out of the wind. That may eliminate part of the source, but the neighbors are skeptical.

One resident, who refused to be identified for fear of reprisal by business clients in the industrial suburb, thought Scott's optimism about solving the problem was "bullshit."

"You've got the federal, state, county, Chicago and Bedford Park EPA's on this thing, but what the hell are they producing and what the hell are we paying for?" he said.

Bearcat's manager, Frank Moore, is non-committal on the guilt or innocence of his company.

"No one really knows what is causing the pollution," said Moore. "It was I who suggested that Scott get the damned stuff analyzed," although he hastened to add that "Mr. Scott says he has proved that Bearcat has nothing to do with it."

Superior Graphite manager Stanley Gratt said his company has taken samples of the pollutants to independent laboratories for analysis, but "we can't get involved with publicity—meetings, talking to people."

David Rosenbaum, chief investigator for the environmental control division of the Illinois attorney general's office, said the polluters "always say they are going to stop polluting. But usually they stop for just six or seven months."

"You've got to get them in the pocket to really make them do it," Rosenbaum added. Initial fines of up to \$10,000 and \$1,000 a day thereafter are possible, he said.

But when will there be solid evidence for a conviction? "Your guess is as good as mine," Rosenbaum told IN THESE



A Superior Graphite worker sweeping up loose graphite.

TIMES. "The attorney general's office is not in the business of putting other people out of business" with heavy fines.

And what is being done to protect workers from graphite and carbon black dust inside the plants?

"Nothing" at Bearcat, according to manager Moore, who said Occupational Safety and Health Administration officials consider graphite no more than a "nuisance dust." Moore said he's been criticized for making filter masks "optional."

EPA officials and others involved in the case echo Moore's confidence that graphite dust is mostly a nuisance, but Mrs. Lillian Goon, 30-year resident of Bedford Park, claims her husband sometimes "sneezes for an hour" on mornings of heavy dust.

Only Rosenbaum is willing to say flatly that "any particulate that enters your lungs is harmful. It plugs up your lungs."

According to the 1974 edition of *Industrial Toxicology*, pneumoconiosis—coal-miners' "black lung disease"—has been reported from exposure to graphite dust in mining, milling and grinding operations.

## Women's prison may close

After 16 months of operation, the Bureau of Prisons says "in all likelihood" it will close the long-term maximum security unit at the federal Correctional Institution for women in Alderson, W. Va., within the next year.

The announcement follows stiff opposition to the maximum security unit from at least ten prison reform groups including the National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The ACLU hails the dismantling of the maximum security unit as a "major victory," but says it intends to "make it clear that people are watching Alderson more closely than ever." The group also plans to meet with inmates and staff at Alderson later this month, while the U.S. Civil Rights Commission continues its investigation of guard brutality and

other abuses at the prison.

Five women remain in the maximum lockup, with a sixth scheduled to be placed there soon. According to the ACLU, most of the women have been told they will be released to the prison's general population if they maintain what Alderson officials call "clear conduct."

Women involved in "subversive" activities, deemed "notorious," involved in highly publicized cases or simply serving long sentences have all been candidates for maximum security.

Opponents charge selection of prisoners for maximum security confinement—in the case of Alderson it's a life centered around three corridors—is arbitrary and typical of the selection process throughout the federal penal system.

## Inflation Rx

Continued from page 3.

istration, while pledging to fight inflation, often does just the opposite. Deregulation of natural gas, which Carter pushed through Congress, will dramatically increase energy costs and higher interest rates will escalate the cost of housing, if the construction industry doesn't simply collapse.

## Social contract unlikely.

Despite a nod to importance of inflation in necessities in his TV speech (except for energy), Carter's anti-inflation program is mainly aimed at preserving the dollar as international currency and, by extension, preventing the collapse of the world capitalist market. That preoccupation reflects the growing subordination of the American economy to the vicissitudes of the international economy and the deepening difficulty of the U.S. acting as kingpin of international capitalism, despite the advantages to U.S. multinationals.

Unlike some advanced capitalist countries, there is little prospect for labor, capital and the government arranging a "social contract" governing distribution of income within which unions and employers can bargain. Neither business nor labor is sufficiently centralized organizationally for that; business is politically hostile to such social democracy; and unions, lacking a clear political vehicle, feel that their institutional role as wage broker would be wiped out if political decisions usurped traditional bargaining. The AFL-CIO call for mandatory controls points in the direction of such a social contract, but the political weakness of organized labor and workers generally lessens the chance that any such deal would favor labor's interests.

For a week Carter tried to "finesse the issue of inflation politically," according to American University economics professor Howard Wachtel, but the threat of collapse of the world capitalist econ-

omy did not permit it. Mandatory controls, imposed in a recession when labor is even weaker, remain a possibility, but Carter may first experiment with "tax-based incomes policies," or TIP—rewarding or penalizing employers with tax adjustments for holding down wages.

## Everyone will be screwed.

Aside from anxiety about preserving real incomes leading to a conservative political mood, some leftist economists argue that inflation is not as serious a problem for the poor, workers or even the retired (whose social security is now protected against inflation) as it is for bankers and bondholders. "Is the cure worse than the disease?" one union economist asks about the inflation palliatives. "Yes. The only argument for fighting inflation is that we're stuck with capitalism, and with inflation, capitalism is going to collapse and everyone will be screwed anyway."

Within the confines of capitalism, leftist economists tend to favor a variety of actions: Alperovitz-style structural reforms of specific sectors, mandatory controls focusing on prices in the major inflationary sectors, some progressive form of "social contract" or incomes policy, or measures to protect real incomes without worrying about inflation unduly. The latter includes everything from militant union wage demands (that would in turn lead to new capital investment and higher productivity) to varieties of indexing wages or taxes to inflation (also favored by conservative "monetarist" economists).

All are preferable to Carter's approach, but none is likely to eradicate the current inflation, which stems from deep-seated dilemmas of the capitalist order complicated by new problems concerning the resource base in oil and other materials of contemporary industrial technology. "It's hard to find a radical position on inflation in this economy," says Wachtel, who argues for protecting incomes against inflation rather than trying to stop it. "It would require such a revolution that you might as well have another revolution, a socialist revolution."

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# IN THE WORLD



This child was wounded by shrapnel during the fighting that broke out last month in Masaya, Nicaragua.

## Talks open amidst continued fighting

By Ron Ridenour

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

**T**HE BROAD OPPOSITION FRONT (FAO) of Nicaragua opened negotiations with an organization of American States (OAS) mediation team last week by presenting a non-negotiable demand for the "immediate removal of President Anastasio Somoza from all political and military positions," the removal of him and his family from Nicaragua, and the expropriation and nationalization of his property (estimated at between 400 and 500 million dollars, or one quarter of the economy).

The opposition also proposed a 16-point program for a democratic government that includes civil liberties for all; agrarian reform; improved working conditions, especially for miners; adequate health and welfare; universal schooling (50 percent of Nicaraguans are illiterate); the reconstitution of the national guard; and free elections in 1981.

Until 1981, FAO proposed rule by "The Three"—Sergio Ramirez, a lawyer representing *Los Doses* (The Twelve), a year-old group of professionals, businessmen and priests; Rafael Blaz, a lawyer and president of UNDEL, a coalition including the Conservative Party and the Nicaraguan Socialist party (PSN); and Alfonso Robelo, an engineer who represents business interests and is said to have powerful friends in the U.S. The OAS mediation team, led by Bowdler

from the U.S., Alfredo Opias from Guatemala and Ramon Emilio Jimenez from the Dominican Republic, had their own proposal for an interim government, if Somoza decides to step down. It would include an official of Somoza's national guard, run by his son Jose, who had been next in line for the presidency.

This arrangement, Casimiro Stelo, one of The Twelve, said in San Jose, would only result in "renewed armed struggle."

As negotiations started in Managua, *Los Doses*, in a first anniversary statement, said that there could be no solution to the crisis "if the Somoza system is not dismantled and Frente Sandinista Liberacion Nacional (FSLN) and the FAO are not allowed to participate in each stage of the nation of the future."

The Twelve warned the U.S. against intervening on behalf of Somoza.

"The half century support of the dictatorship must end. It can no longer prevent the peoples' liberation. The only thing the U.S. can do to show its respect for Nicaragua is to stop all support of the dictatorship and ally with the poor and those who have suffered under Somoza."

Neither Sotelo nor Ernesto Cardenal, a Nicaraguan priest who joined the FSLN last year, believes the U.S. can any longer support Somoza, who is "thoroughly isolated and universally repudiated."

Cardenal told *IN THESE TIMES* that the FSLN is growing steadily and will "fight until victory."

Somoza's 7,500 troops outnumber the guerrilla army and are augmented by

*Continued on page 10.*

## Some Sandinistas condemn the talks

*IN THESE TIMES* correspondent Michele Labrut, taperecorder in hand, was blindfolded and taken to meet with Sandinista Liberation organization guerrilla Bayardo Arce "somewhere in Nicaragua."

Arce is on the national board of the Prolonged Popular War (PPW) faction, the most radical of the three Sandinista groups. Labrut reports, however, that the Marxist PPW guerrillas have been plagued for nearly two years by bickering over ideology and tactics.

A second faction—the Proletarians—are trying to organize students and labor unionists.

It was the third faction—the Terceristas—alone who attacked the National Palace Aug. 22 in Managua. The group has allied itself with democratic-minded bourgeoisie and, according to Labrut, is dedicating itself to almost immediate insurrection.

She described Arce as "a young man who talks slowly with a low voice and a firm glance that has been forged by many years of political militancy." She said he apologized for the tight security, leaving his Alstet sub-machine gun on a chair during the interview.

As a member of the national board of the Sandinistas, how do you analyze the situation?

Because of the repression, the work of many organizations among the masses has been delayed. Masses move through leaders who, because of the repression, are obliged to act clandestinely.

We are making guerrilla war, trying to

strengthen our forces in the fundamental parts of our army. We believe that if we don't abandon our struggle the prospects are good, because there are sufficient objective bases for the prolongation of the crisis. On the economic side, for example, Somoza is without a cent. He can't keep the people content, the bourgeoisie is hurting. There's no money and much resentment.

The people's hatred of the dictatorship has been increased, and internationally the regime is weak. The *gringos* have to think it over again about giving Somoza their support. We're trying to show that even if the *gringos* turn back to him, we will continue to have popular support, openly or not.

How long do you think the people will support this sort of situation?

We guide the masses. Conditions do not exist to launch a rapid offensive. It is not only with will that you make the revolution. What is necessary is political work to make it understood that people have to hold out and at the same time wage guerrilla war to show that we are not retreating from the military scene.

What is the Sandinistas position regarding the negotiations conducted by the large opposition front?

The Group of Twelve only speaks for the Terceristas—the third faction. They don't count with the Proletarians and they count even less with us. The Sandinistas do not agree, do not accept—

*Continued on page 10.*



## BRITAIN

# Labour and Tories are both divided on wage controls

BY MERVYN JONES

L O N D O N

**THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF LIMITING WAGE INCREASES** to 5 percent during the year ending next August—in effect, for the rest of Prime Minister James Callaghan's term of office—is running into formidably stormy weather. On all sides, voices are raised to proclaim that the policy is already a dead duck, though that verdict is premature so far. ¶The big Ford auto plants remain on strike as I write. The most significant move by the company has been to offer a rise of 8 percent, at the same time making clear that negotiations would not be constrained by the government's ceiling. This in itself was a grave blow to the 5 percent ruling, seen to be set aside by one of the country's major employers—and by a company against which Callaghan can take no effective reprisals, because of its multinational status and the need for continued Ford investment in Britain. However, the unions promptly replied that 8 percent is not enough and the strike continues.

Still on the auto front, the Vauxhall company (the British unit of General Motors) has prudently avoided making a 5 percent offer, the opening bid by Ford that sparked the strike. Management and unions at Vauxhall are now locked in negotiations, and any agreement that emerges is unlikely to be agreeable to government policy.

At British Oxygen, also due for its annual round of wage talks, the company has offered 8 percent, and the union is bargaining for more. A strike is possible, and a halt in oxygen production would have crippling repercussions within a few weeks on steel and many other industries.

We also face the prospect of strikes by local government workers (garbage men and the like) who are by absolute standards underpaid and want increases of up to 30 percent. Beyond that looms the March 1 deadline set by the miners for a major wage rise.

## We won't print the money.

There is a theory, maybe held by some union leaders, that Callaghan intended his 5 percent limit to have moral rather than literal force. In emphatic speeches, ministers have been denying that interpretation. Callaghan said 5 percent, and he meant 5 percent. (Because of overtime and other factors, the increase in earnings always outruns the basic increase in wages.)

British inflation has been reduced to an annual rate of 8 percent, which is a fairly creditable achievement—but, since it still outruns the inflation rate of Germany and Japan, we remain at a disadvantage in world markets. To make matters worse, Callaghan is under heavy pressure from President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to bring Britain into the proposed European Monetary system, a form of currency stabilization that would protect Germany from ever being penalized for its overvalued currency.

In a television interview, Callaghan has warned that lack of restraint in wages would force him to take monetarist measures against inflation (of the kind Labour platforms always denounced as the Tory remedy). "We're not threatening anybody," he said, "but we're just not going to print the money."

It's admitted that this would mean a halt to the current slender upturn in production, bankruptcies for weaker companies, and higher unemployment. The purpose of postponing the election was

to enter the campaign with improved figures on both inflation and unemployment, but it now seems difficult to bring off that double.

## Unions vs. government.

Politically, the wages issue brought Callaghan an open and dramatic defeat on Oct. 2 at the Labour Party conference. The last conference before an election should, hopefully, be a demonstration of unity (as the 1977 conference in fact was). Divisions in Labour's ranks are bound to be gleefully exploited by the Tories and by the overwhelmingly pro-Tory press. The evident dangers were

among the arguments for holding an October election and thus cancelling the conference, and Callaghan might well have been wiser to do that.

He hoped until the last moment that the explosive issue would be kept off the agenda. The platform committee, over which Ministers have no control, refused to oblige; indeed, it infuriated Callaghan by setting the wages debate for the first day of the conference, before his major speech.

An uncompromising resolution, expressing total opposition to the 5 percent limit and to any form of wage restraint, was carried by a two-thirds majority. Under the party constitution, any resolution carried by that majority should be incorporated in the manifesto for the next election—so that Labour's election platform would include a plank to which the Labour government is flatly opposed.

The votes that swung the decision, naturally, were those of the big unions. Union leaders came to the rostrum to promise that they would bargain responsibly and keep the fight against inflation in mind, but made it clear that they found the 5 percent limit unthinkable and that they'd had more than enough of government's constraints on the bargaining process. Their attitude was summed up by miners' president Joe Gormley: "We say, allow us to do our job."

Private talks between ministers and union leaders, aimed at restoring an appearance of unity, have so far yielded no result. Speculation that the formula being sought was an upping of the 5 percent limit to 8 percent (or whatever) has been denied on both sides. The government stands firm on its figure, while the unions are not interested in a ceiling at any level.

## Thatcher's bete noir.

This spectacle of conflict ought to have provided the Tory conference, which met the next week, to present a contrasting picture of harmony—especially as the Tories have no truck with the Labour habit of arguing out loud, and their conference procedure easily enables the platform to stop any resolution that it dislikes from coming up for debate. But,

is sufficient. One of FAO's parts, the Conservative Party's dominant force, is happy without a reconstructed national guard. Sotelo said, "The FSLN will not necessarily be the new army completely. Many civilians would enlist after victory."

It is certain that the FSLN's main strength—its military force—will not be abandoned. It claims that 1,200 guardsmen were killed in September. The FSLN also says the guard killed 6,000 civilians, but only 20 Sandinistas.

The FSLN and FAO agree on a new popular, pluralistic and democratic government without a socialist economy. There are differences among the Sandinistas, but an important faction, the *Terceristas*, have opted, since the death of its leader, Carlos Fonseca Amador, several years ago, for reforming society gradually.

Cardenal believes the hour of victory is near. He said volunteers from Spain, Sweden, Germany and many American countries have offered to fight with the Sandinistas.

Some civilians from neighboring countries have joined, and are undergoing training at Sandinista camps alongside many Nicaraguan recruits.

Meanwhile, Somoza's army continues to arrest and kill Nicaraguans daily, press

and a private organization of businesses.

To reach an agreement, some basic things must be realized, and we know none of them will be agreed upon: Somoza must leave his properties confiscated and the national guard dismantled.

**There are rumors Somoza will leave in a short time on the condition that he be succeeded by a military junta.**

In that case we would try to take advantage of the government. But it's only with the national guard being dismantled that a change could be realized.

**Do you think the masses are ready for a new offensive?**

We insist on political work. Our vanguard role is to guide the masses, to conduct their concerns. But if the masses take the offensive, we'll go to the front lines.

much to the relief of Labour sympathizers, Tory disagreements were also exposed, above all on this very issue of wages.

Margaret Thatcher's view, which she repeated in her conference speech, is that government should stand aside from the supervision of wage negotiations, in which the main factor should be whether the workers "deserve" more pay because of higher productivity. She is saying that she finds it natural for an assembly-line worker at Ford's, which has declared a record profit, to be paid more than his counterpart at the virtually bankrupt Leyland plants—an attitude that, curiously, coincides with that of Ford's militant and leftist shop stewards.

Other Tories feel that wages in general must be held down to enable British capitalism to get on its feet again, and see that only government intervention can do it. They point to the wide range of public-sector industries in which the government is the employer, and also to the numerous occupations (such as communications, the state bureaucracy, and the health services) to which no productivity yardstick can be applied.

Because of the anodyne nature of rigged conference proceedings, the real "conference" consisted of TV interviews given in hotel suites in the evenings. In one of these, Ted Heath, the 1970-74 Prime Minister and Thatcher's *bete noir*, declared that the 5 percent ceiling was a necessity and should be supported by everyone concerned for the nation's interests. He could have said nothing more wounding, since a suggestion that Tories may be lacking in patriotism is akin to querying the chastity of nuns.

Apoplectic Tories gathering in the bars were agreed that Heath has read himself out of a place in a Thatcher Cabinet. Embarrassingly, however, an earlier attempt to patch up the Heath-Thatcher rift has given Heath the promise of an election tour that would make him the spotlight speaker at rallies in major towns.

Visitors to this country continue to ask me who is going to win the next election, but I have taken to replying that the correct question is: who is going to lose it? ■

to day, the curfew remains intact, and Somoza has extended martial law until 1979.

*La Prensa*, Managua's opposition daily, reports that young people are being pulled from their homes, beaten, jailed or shot. Jose Angel Almirano, 17, for example, was killed Friday for violating the curfew. He was on a Managua street at 6:30 p.m., 30 minutes after the curfew, looking for his sister. This killing is duplicated every day. The cities of Leon, Masaya and others, once held by their residents in opposition to Somoza, are subjected to the worst oppression. Leon's hospital has been cut from 300 to 100 beds despite protests by doctors. The embassies of Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Dominican Republic, Honduras and Costa Rica harbor hundreds of refugees.

The Red Cross estimates that over 20,000 Nicaraguans have fled to Costa Rica and other Latin countries. It also reports that some 9,000 refugees living in Leon are in critical condition.

Meanwhile, the economy is floundering. The president of the Central Bank of Nicaragua, Roberto Incer Barquero, announced Oct. 19, prior to his trip to the U.S. seeking economic aid, that Nicaragua had a negative growth of 3.5 percent this year. ■

But our revolutionary duty is to tell the masses they have to be better prepared.

**What kind of international solidarity has been expressed for Nicaragua?**

We've tried to get solidarity in concrete forms. To denounce the suffering, the fighting, is not enough. We want the solidarity to be expressed in material things. They are killing us because we don't have guns to shoot back.

**The recent events—would you call them a victory or defeat for Nicaragua?**

Politically, we believe it was a victory for our people and for the revolutionary movement in general. In the first place, the world saw that our people are willing to fight, even die, to create a different society. In the second place, we gained the total isolation of the dictatorship. ■

# Nicaragua

Continued from page 9.

"mercenaries" from the Central American Defense Council (CONDECA), a regional army initiated in 1961 under American supervision that includes Guatemalans, El Salvadorans and Hondurans. "North Americans and Vietnamese refugees have also been seen fighting," Cardenal said.

Two weeks ago four people were captured by national guardsmen in Costa Rican territory. Subsequently (Oct. 16) the OAS voted 19-to-0 to condemn the Nicaraguan government for violation of Costa Rican territory. On the same day, Costa Rica deported to Panama 34 Sandinistas captured by Costa Rican civil guards.

## Coming together.

The opposition is developing a unified approach to the crisis. FAO's 16-point program approximates the FSLN program. Cardenal and Sotelo say the differences are minor.

The FSLN wants a complete new army while FAO believes reconstitution and radio liberty is never certain from day

# Sandinista

Continued from page 9.

even condemn—this imperialist intervention disguised with the word "negotiation."

It's a fact that the so-called negotiations have amounted to no more than an OAS (Organization of American States) resolution. For us and for the revolutionaries of the continent, the OAS is no more than a "Ministry of Colonies" of American imperialism.

I want to clarify that as far as we know, the negotiations were not solicited by the Large Opposition Front (FAO). We understand they were sought by the church



By John Stephens

**O**N OCT. 5, SWEDEN'S FIRST bourgeois government in four decades fell after two years in power. Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin resigned when his Center (formerly Farmers') Party failed to reach a compromise with its partners, the Liberals and the Conservatives, on nuclear energy.

With the Social Democrats abstaining and the Conservatives opposing it, a new minority government under the leadership of the Liberals replaced the Fälldin government on Oct. 12.

A new election is unlikely. By Swedish law, the September 1979 elections would have to be held even if interim elections were held.

The Fälldin government fell because it could not reach agreement with the Conservatives on nuclear energy. This issue was also central to the defeat of the Social Democrats in 1976.

#### Green wave.

Prior to the 1976 election, the Center and the Liberals were simply an echo of the Social Democrats. The late '60s in Sweden were characterized by what the Swedes called a "red wave" in public opinion, which carried the Social Democrats to their biggest post-World War II victory in 1968.

This "red wave" was followed by a "green wave" of environmentalist concern, and the Center Party, which opposed nuclear power, rode the top of this wave carrying it from the position of the smallest bourgeois party in the mid-'60s to the largest by the mid-'70s.

Like most other reformist labor parties, the Social Democrats have always been committed to rapid technological change and rapid economic growth to carry out their policies of high levels of employment and income redistribution through the expansion of the public sector. With its roots in rural society, the Center was in an excellent position to take the initiative on a program that added to environmentalism the advocacy of low growth, decentralization, and a "low energy society."

The Center's program has had a strong anti-industrial romantic component to it, witness the youth organization's proposal that future Swedish society be planned such that the largest urban unit be a "local society" of no more than a few thousand inhabitants.

The Social Democratic government did move to incorporate the environmental impact of technological change into its general planning policy—the Swedish labor movement was particularly successful in raising the issue of the "working environment" and connecting it to its drive for "economic democracy." But the Center Party has held the initiative on this issue, which has become the party's defining characteristic.

The Liberals have generally followed the Center on the issues of environmentalism and decentralization, while keeping their distance from the romantic and anti-intellectual elements of the Center. The Conservatives, on the other hand, true to their character as the party of big business, have consistently opposed any governmental environmental regulation of industry and generally called for promoting the greatest possible technological change without consideration of its wider impact on society.

#### Energy and jobs.

When the oil crisis brought Sweden's heavy dependency on foreign oil imports to the fore, the Social Democrats and the Conservatives maintained that Sweden would need to build eight more nuclear reactors in addition to the five already in existence to supply the country with adequate energy up to 1990. The Liberals favored the construction of six additional reactors while the Center, along with the Communists, argued that no more reactors should be built until the safety problems were solved. The Swedish Parliament passed energy legislation in spring 1975 following the Social Democrats' recommendations.

The Social Democrats charged that the Center's position was inconsistent. The energy policy of 1975 called for a 2 percent



Coalition leaders Per Ahlmark, Liberal party, Thorbjörn Fälldin, Center party, and Gosta Bohman, Conservative party, split over nuclear power.

## SWEDEN

# Debate on nuclear reactors creates political fall-out

The Social Democrats' support for nuclear energy cost them the 1976 elections. But the issue has shipwrecked their successors.

yearly increase in energy consumption up to 1985 (the yearly increase from 1953 to 1973 was 4.5 percent) and zero growth from 1990 on. The legislation also called for a reduction of foreign oil imports, which make up 70 percent of Sweden's present energy supply. It was agreed that hydroelectric power should not be substantially increased since that would entail damming one of the last untouched Swedish rivers.

Under government initiative, the Swedes were also to research alternative energy sources, especially solar energy and wind. Though this program has already met with some success, it will be a while before these alternatives can replace present energy sources.

Given this situation, the Social Democrats argued, it would be impossible to follow the Center's nuclear power policy without substantially slowing or even reversing economic growth and thus substantially increasing unemployment. Yet the party maintained it could increase employment substantially while stopping the expansion of nuclear energy.

The Center position, they charged, was dictated by the opinion polls. In 1975, polls showed half of the Swedes favored a stop to the growth of the nuclear program and another 13 percent favored elimination of the nuclear reactors already in existence. No Swedish politician could even campaign on a program that called anything more than 2 percent unemployment acceptable.

#### Nuclear issue dominates.

In the spring of 1976 it appeared that the Social Democrats would lose the election after a series of scandals caused a substantial drop in their support. But, as the Social Democrats' superior electoral machinery began to move in full force in

August, the party began to pick up enough support so that most political observers believed that they would win. But in the final two weeks of the campaign, the nuclear power issue dominated, largely due to the Center's initiative.

Fälldin took an increasingly militant position, favoring elimination of present reactors by 1985 if the security problems were not solved. He said his position would not be negotiable in any coalition with the Liberals and Conservatives, and that "no ministerial office in the world could induce me to compromise with my conscience." Yet the Center Party maintained that it would create "400,000 new jobs" once in office. (This is equivalent to an American politician calling for the creation of ten million jobs.)

The Social Democrats, for their part, played into the Center's hands as Prime Minister Olof Palme repeatedly insisted that all the problems with nuclear energy were or soon would be solved. As a result, several well known Social Democratic opponents of nuclear energy announced their intention to abstain or in some cases vote for the Center in the election.

Fälldin's first act in office was to go back on his word. In the negotiations on the formation of a coalition government with the Liberals and Conservatives, he was forced to agree that a sixth reactor, which had recently been finished, would be activated and that construction would continue on three additional reactors. The decision on whether or not to activate these reactors was to be made in 1978 as part of a general reevaluation of energy policy.

Given Fälldin's strong pre-election statements concerning nuclear power, it is not surprising that this compromise set off a vigorous reaction. Palme accused Fälldin of "betraying" the Swed-

ish electorate. A number of Center party members, especially the younger ones, were quite upset about the compromise and some resigned their party appointments in protest.

#### Fälldin falls.

As negotiations within the coalition on energy policy began this year and intensified this fall, it became increasingly clear to the Liberals and Conservatives that Sweden could not do without nuclear energy in the short run without damaging the Swedish economy. The Center, on the other hand, could not afford to compromise again on the issue. This led to the fall of the Fälldin government.

The Swedes will probably build the 11 reactors favored by the Liberals and possibly two more if the energy research and development program yields no practical alternative sources soon. But, barring a solution to the nuclear waste problem and/or failure of any alternative energy source development, dependence on nuclear energy is likely to be a transitional stage in Swedish energy policy.

If the long run effects of this period of bourgeois government is only to reorient energy policy then it will have to be judged in a positive light. The danger is that the 1976 election ushered in a new period in Swedish politics in which Social Democratic dominance is replaced by bourgeois dominance or, more likely, a regular switching of power between the two political blocks. Even the latter would endanger the fruition of the new Social Democratic program for the transition to socialism (ITT, Oct. 3).

It now seems that the Social Democrats are in an excellent position to win the 1979 elections. The latest polls show the socialist block with an 8 percent lead. This is a very substantial lead by Swedish standards and the bourgeois parties would have to make a dramatic comeback to win. This is not probable since most factors are running against them now.

Their claim to be a viable alternative to the Social Democrats has been seriously damaged not only by the fall of the government but also by their inability to deal with the economy. Unemployment stood at 2.6 percent this year, well below the Swedish norm, and the standard of living has not increased in real terms in the two years of bourgeois rule. And, though the Center has saved face politically by refusing to compromise more on nuclear energy, it is obvious that the bourgeois block as a whole cannot expect to ride to another electoral victory on that issue.

John Stephens teaches at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. He recently returned from Sweden. His book, *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism*, will appear next fall.





# AT MCDONALD'S THEY DO IT ALL TO YOU

BY JOHN CONROY

**Y**OUR KIDNEYS MAY BE screaming that it's time to go to the restroom, but you can't go without permission from a manager. Employees on Detroit's infamous assembly lines get longer breaks. Minor burns are common; ask the manager before you leave to put salve on them. There's no such thing as a paid holiday. There is no hospitalization insurance. Pay is a nickel above the legal minimum. If the boss doesn't like the length of your haircut, you get another one.

The profits of the company have made scores of men millionaires, and like the auto companies did in past decades, the bosses sell the idea that the man on the line is building America. The difference here is that the man on the line is a teenager. The young are ideal for the job—they're gullible, unemployed, quick enough to serve a customer in 50 seconds, and easily replaced.

"You don't have a name," says veteran Bryant Cunningham, a 21-year-old black. "They yell, 'Backroom, we need a Coke change.' I'd say, 'Hey, I'm back here, but my name ain't Backroom.'"

"All they see is hamburger," says Mike Sorriano, a 23-year-old Filipino. "They don't see you. You're just there to turn hamburger."

Sorriano and Cunningham turned hamburger at the McDonald's at 115 N. Wabash in Chicago. Thirty-two percent of all McDonald's restaurants are owned by McDonald's corporation; the Wabash Avenue outpost is one of the other 68 percent—the franchises. Wabash is owned by Lyon Weber Management Company, a partnership of Joseph Lyon and Thomas Weber, with offices in suburban Rolling Meadows. Lyon and Weber are among the more successful franchisers in the game, owning three McDonald's in Chicago and eight in the suburbs.

Their Wabash store, however, is the jewel of the lot. While company spokesmen declined to give out any figures on revenues there, a former manager for

the partnership says the gross sales were about \$7,000 a day, or \$2.5 million per year. According to figures on revenues in McDonald's annual report, a \$2.5 million gross places Wabash among the top 11 outposts in the world.

What that means to Sorriano and Cunningham is that they turned a lot of hamburger, sometimes 1,200 to 1,400 per day. They cooked 40 quarter pounders at a time, turning ten burgers every 85 seconds. At every turn, they pulled ten patties off the grill, laid them on buns, dropped ten more on the grill, seared them, turned them and seared them again.

A coating of grease slowly builds up on your arms and eyeglasses, Sorriano says, and after a while, hot specks of grease landing on your forearm don't penetrate the coating. In the busiest stores, customer demand is almost constant and grillmen feel there is no letup and little slack time. Employees are drilled with the company slogan, "If you have time to lean, you have time to clean." Dissidents like Sorriano changed the theme a bit. "If you have time to lean," they say, "do it."

McDonald's, a Harvard Business School professor once said, is a "machine that produces, with the help of totally unskilled machine tenders, a highly polished product. Everything is built integrally into the machine itself, into the technology of the system. The only choice available to the attendant is to operate it exactly as the designers intended."

The low wages, the working conditions, and the speed-up dampened morale, but at the Wabash McDonald's they were not the only bones of contention. At Christmastime last year, the managers refused to discuss a theft from the crew's lockers, and a few days later nearly fired Cunningham, who'd never missed a day, after he came down with a fever while working the night maintenance job and left early to go to a hospital.

According to Sorriano and Cunningham, the managers were particularly abusive. One manager, they claim, held a ci-

garette lighter underneath a crew member's chin to emphasize his point that the man should shave more often. A former female employee says the same manager grabbed her hand and tried to put it on his privates, and adds that another manager tested to make sure a crewmember was wearing a bra by patting her on the back, feeling for her bra strap, and once sent home a woman who failed that test. "Basically we thought we were being treated as less than intelligent adults," Sorriano says, and so he and Cunningham decided to try organizing the employees into a union.

After a meeting with organizer Josephine Clark of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 593 (officially known as the Hotel Motel Service Workers, Drug Store, Sports Events, and Industrial Catering Employees Union), the two workers set up an organizing committee that grew to 15 and set out to get membership cards signed by their fellow employees, all black but for Sorriano, most of them in their teens, about 65 percent of them female. Clark told them to get 40 signatures, but Sorriano and Cunningham wanted to take no chances and got signatures from 70 co-workers—over 50 percent of the employees.

"Some of the most quiet people were the first to sign," Cunningham says, still amazed at the response. People from union families signed without any questions. One crew member didn't know what a union was, but after Cunningham and Sorriano explained it, he signed. "We were careful," Cunningham says. "We didn't make any promises and we said we might get fired."

**B**Y THE END OF LAST YEAR, there were 4,671 McDonald's in the world, and by the end of this year, there will be over 5,000. The Oakbrook, Ill., corporation is the largest server of food in the nation, up from seventh place in 1971, ahead of the U.S. Army and Navy. Seven years ago, when the signs boasted of seven billion sold, the corporation public relations department figured that if all seven billion hamburgers were piled in the state of Illinois, everyone would be ankle deep in hamburgers. Now, with 25 billion sold, the citizens of Illinois should be almost up to their knees in burgers.

In 1977, Dunn's Review judged McDonald's one of the five best-managed corporations in the U.S., and it ranked 60th in the market value of its stock and 128 in net profits in *Forbes* magazine's 1978 list of the nation's 500 largest companies. Net income for the McDonald's system last year was 136.6 million, up





Ken Firestone

,300 percent since 1963 on a ten-fold increase in sales.

To get a license to operate a McDonald's now costs \$230,000 for a restaurant with indoor seating. The land and building are leased to the franchise for 20 years, after which he must pay again if he wants to stay in the game. In exchange for this initial investment, a franchise owner gets the privilege of living a life regulated by Oakbrook's Hamburger Central. If Oakbrook says a new spatula is in order, everyone must buy a new spatula. Everything is dictated, down to the order that male crew members must shave, use deodorant, and wear dark colored socks.

According to Max Boas and Steve Chain, authors of the book *Big Mac*, it is also written in the McDonald book of rules that franchise owners should donate to charities, and each owner is reportedly given a thick book of suggestions on how to do it. So, a few years ago, unwed mothers in Harlem were given free burgers on Saturday. A cancerous high school football star in New Jersey had a day's receipts go toward his hospital bills. In Chicago, McDonald's have sponsored a carnival to benefit muscular dystrophy victims. When Frump Frump the elephant died in the Roanoke, Va., zoo, McDonald's offered to buy a replacement. When there is a disaster, be it earthquake, fire, flood, tornado or snowstorm, local McDonald's rush food to the disaster site.

Ray Kroc, founder of the hamburger empire, is also a great philanthropist, and has given millions to museums, zoos, and hospitals. But the man who built his kingdom based on cheap labor knows that charity can be more than good works. It can be damn nice promotion.

"In each locale, Mr. McDonald's was urged to join the Chamber of Commerce, the school board, United Way, American Legion, or other civic group, and any legitimate charity that came along," write Boas and Chain in *Big Mac*. "Thus the hamburger persona became a defender of the middle-class norm, a promoter of established virtue, a resistor of change, and a welder of conformity."

It's all part of the Kroc formula. In the chain's early years, teenage girls were not hired because they attracted boys who loitered and made the restaurant a hang-out. No cigarette machines or telephones were allowed, again to prevent a hang-out from developing. The appeal was to the family trade, real America, and real Americans lived in the suburbs, drove to the red and white striped stands, and ate in their cars. It is only in the last five years that McDonald's pushed heavily into downtowns and inner cities, and as little

as nine years ago, Boas and Chain report, there were only five black franchise owners, all of them in Chicago's inner city.

The Kroc formula, needless to say, holds unions to be downright UnAmerican. Minimum wage laws also have no place. In 1972, Kroc donated \$250,000 to Richard Nixon's campaign chest in what critics called an attempt to buy a subminimum wage classification for his workers. Kroc denied he was trying to influence the administration, which produced a minimum wage bill with a "youth differential" known in Congress as the "McDonald's Bill." Kroc called his contributions an attempt to buy "some insurance in the free enterprise system, in which I strongly believe."

Kroc has long held the belief that he performs a valuable service in introducing youngsters to the labor force by teaching them how to behave in the workplace in what for many is their first job, and by giving them valuable skills which stand them in good stead when they leave. The training a teenager gets turning hamburger when a beeper tells him to, however, seems hardly the path to a very good job, and it is hard to fight back the suspicion that Kroc, free enterprise lover that he is, would love to teach his valuable skills to workers in Taiwan or Korea, if only there were some way of keeping the burgers hot on the flight back to his American stands.

ON JAN. 24, UNION ORGANIZER Clark walked into the Wabash franchise and asked to speak to area supervisor Lee Esarove. When he came forward she told him that Local 593 represented a majority of the workers at his restaurant and that it was time to sit down to iron out a contract. While the managers had known that Sorriano and Cunningham were collecting signatures on union cards, Esarove nonetheless seemed amazed. When he turned around from his confrontation with Clark, he found all but about

five of the crew on duty wearing union buttons and a large grin. He wanted to take down the names of the button wearers, but found it easier to take down the names of the buttonless.

Things were not supposed to have gotten to that point. It is not in the McDonald's formula, and Lyon Weber had plainly screwed up. Certainly it had happened before, but never in a store so big. "Here we were, the cream of the crop," Cunningham says, "and it turned out to be not so creamy."

There simply is no place for a union in the McDonald machine. First, the assembly-line method of production poses great difficulties to an organizer. Anyone, given a day's training, can do the job, so the system needs no one, everyone is replaceable. And the workforce changes constantly: everyday, scores of employees decide McDonald's is not their kind of place, and turnover in some outlets reaches 300 percent a year. Unlike migrant farm workers, who, while they move from farm to farm nevertheless remain migrant farm workers, few McDonald employees see themselves as hamburger turners for the rest of their lives, and so the motivation to wage a long fight for recognition of a union is often easily dissipated when management makes even slight concessions.

In addition, competition is promoted between crews, between shifts, between different workers at the same job, keeping employees from building any sense of solidarity and at the same time improving production. There's a \$100 Club, for the cashier who rings up \$100 on his cash register in one hour. There's the Silver Spatula competition, the decathlon of the burger business, to find the select group who can bag ten orders of fries in 15 seconds; lay down ten Quarter Pounder patties in 8.5 seconds; lay down, turn, and pull 12 regular-sized hamburger patties in 2.25 minutes; set up, toast, pull and dress 12 hamburger buns in 1.5 minutes and do the same for ten Quarter

Continued on page 18.



## EDITORIAL

## Carter declares war on labor

The political era of corporate-liberalism is over, as "Keynesian" armistice gives way to class war.

When the United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser said that big business had declared class war against the American working class he said it all. The defeat of situs picketing, labor law reform, and the consumer protection agency, the passage of the gas deregulation and regressive tax laws, the gutting of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, were only the preliminary skirmishes.

The real declaration of war came with President Carter's "anti-inflation" battle plan moving on two fronts—the wage-price thrust of Oct. 24, known as "Phase II," and the monetary blitz of Nov. 1, essentially "Phase III." (See David Moberg's story, page 3).

Taken together, the two-pronged assault amounts to wage controls combined with a planned recession and rising unemployment to "fight inflation." The strategy represents not the outcome of democratic debate, not a path to solving economic problems in the people's general interest, but a corporate program designed to preempt debate and place the interests of big capital above the welfare of society. Some of the more militant partisans of the Corporate Way are demanding a more forward strategy, but as the favorable responses of giant corporations like AT&T and General Electric indicate, this is the battle plan of the chief executive of the Corporate Order.

Since upon even the most cursory examination, it is evident that Carter's program does not stop, but, on the contrary, plans the continued rise in prices along with recession and unemployment, it is not a "moral equivalent of war" on inflation, but a poorly disguised war on labor.

Phase III was already implicit in Phase II. The "voluntary" wage-price standards of Phase II would cap wage increases (including benefits) at a level well below the inflation rate, thereby further reducing workers' real income, while leaving prices of food, raw materials, energy, housing and credit (interest rates) free and permitting all other prices to rise at or above the inflation rate. It would provide for continued inflation managed to effect a massive transfer of income from labor to capital. Carter's assertion that the standards "apply equally to all groups," giving "all of us an equal chance to move ahead," is manifestly untrue.

But Phase II also would provide for massive cutbacks in public spending and employment, and a 1979 growth rate of 3 to 3.5 percent. That means rising unemployment, on top of reduced real wages for those remaining at work and a steady deterioration in essential social services.

Phase III merely put the finishing touches on Phase II. It reinforced the plan for recession and unemployment with the monetary weapon of higher interest rates, tighter money, and dollar support abroad to stabilize the multinational corporate investment system at the expense of social well-being at home.

Carter's message is clear: First, corporate capital cannot exist without chronic inflation and unemployment ("stagflation"); second, the multinational corporate system is to be maintained whatever the price in human misery and social



decay; third, the state will join hands with the corporations in planning the economy to impose corporate stagflation upon the whole society.

There is one more part to the message: The "Keynesian" armistice between capital and labor is ended. And the Democratic party as now constituted is no longer the party of that armistice. The armistice rested upon preserving the corporate investment system by an expansion via imperialism and war that made possible granting more to labor without redistributing income or power. Capital took back in prices, military spending, and taxes what it gave in wages and social insurance. With such expansion at an end, the armistice is itself the root cause of the chronic inflation that corporate capital now regards as more dangerous to its world order than unemployment. It is choosing to break the armistice and resume the class war.

The heart of Carter's program is fiscal and monetary retrenchment—a throw-back to pre-New Deal policies—that will slash public employment and social spending essential to working people's living standards. It has to do with "fighting inflation" only in the sense that by raising unemployment and reducing support for workers' income, it weakens labor's wage demands and undermines unions' collective bargaining leverage and their ability to maintain (no less expand) their membership.

But Carter's policy leaves corporate power over prices, profits, and investment rates (hence employment levels) intact—and it does so whether wage-price standards remain "voluntary" or become mandatory. It makes a dead letter of any remnants of full employment planning in Humphrey-Hawkins.

In other words, the political era of corporate liberalism is at an end. Organized labor and other working people have but two choices: abject surrender or resistance. The signs are that they are in no mood to surrender. But the success of labor resistance depends on the recognition that a new political era is opening up and that it requires joining new issues and devising new strategies.

The central issue now is control over the investment system: not whether there will be economic planning but who will plan, how, and for what ends. Will we have a society planned by and for cor-

porate power, or a *planning* society, of by and for the people? Will we have oligarchic corporate government or democratic self-government. The central issue is the fate of democracy and social justice in the U.S.

The new issue dictates new strategies. The AFL-CIO is right in demanding mandatory controls covering property income as well as wages, and in calling for Congress to debate and establish them. But that does not go far enough. From the present configuration of party politics labor can expect controls from Congress little different from the President's.

Unless labor breaks out of its narrow collective bargaining corner, and unless it sheds its image of being a "special interest" looking out only for its own instead of the good of all working people, it will not be able to develop the broad

coalitions to the left capable of changing the configuration of party politics. It will leave the party system and hence Congress as well as the executive branch under corporate domination. It will not have devised a strategy suited to a new political era.

Labor's alternative to surrender lies in going beyond narrow "business unionism" to a "social unionism" that builds a political coalition of the left around a program of democratic control of the economy, a coalition that is capable of electing people committed to that program at all levels of government. It means a commitment to building a new party politics turning upon the contest between corporate oligarchy and socialist democracy. That or surrender. This in essence is the meaning of Carter's declaration of war.

## Kick the mind-chiselers off the government dole

Business shamans, conservatives and now liberals and the Carter administration, are raising the old hue and cry against federal regulation of business and the holy pursuit of the dollar. Few of these good Christian gentlefolk care a fig about federal regulation of the holy human spirit—the affairs of conscience and the rights of speech and association. That kind of regulation by the FBI, the CIA, military intelligence, local "red squads" goes merrily on, in spite of all the rhetoric about restoring morality to government, respecting human rights, and cutting budgets.

The latest case of political "regulation" has been forced into public attention by an ACLU suit in Chicago. In compliance with an order by Federal District judge Alfred Y. Kirkland, the FBI revealed documents showing that since 1966 at least 837 FBI informers have been reporting on the civic and political activities of 27 plaintiffs—a ratio of 37 spies per person.

The activities under surveillance were not unlawful. As ACLU spokesperson Joan Ashley observed, "A small army of FBI snoopers has been spying on the peaceful political activities of law-abiding citizens."

That such police-state operations continue to go on in a society supposedly devoted to democracy and human rights is an outrage, but not to the rich and powerful who otherwise denounce government regulation at every turn. In their scale of values a police state over the spirit is OK, however unconstitutional and unlawful, but government limitation of material gain, even if in violation of the law, is not.

Why not cut government spending for snoop-bureaus of the FBI and other such "regulatory" bodies? Snoop-spending amounts in essence to welfare payments for pernicious "make-work" by those who help the government inhibit democratic liberties and violate other people's constitutional rights. Paying them to rake leaves, instead of people's minds, would be more wholesome. But you won't find many of those who howl about getting people off the welfare rolls becoming exercised over the mind-control chiselers.

President Carter says he is going to slash federal employment. He might start with kicking the snoopers off the federal payroll. It would help his efforts to hold down the deficit. It might also make his professed dedication to human rights and democratic values more credible.



# LETTERS

## A RANK-AND-FILE STEELWORKERS' VIEW

AT 27, I HAVE BEEN A FOUNDRY worker most of my working life and a long-time activist in the Steelworkers Union. I am vice-president of an 800-member local (USWA Local 7528) that has a reputation as an active, democratic, "involved" union. I also served as Connecticut co-ordinator for the Sadlowski "Fight Back" slate in the last USWA election, and they carried our slate.

I agree with some of the criticisms of Michael Gillespie by our USWA public relations pro, Russ Gibbons (*ITT*, Oct. 18), but I do think *ITT*'s coverage accurately reflected some of the internal developments within the USWA.

The USWA does have a basically democratic structure (far more so than most unions), which gives some opportunity for the development of insurgent movements within the union; but, contrary to what Brother Gibbons suggests, a sizeable group of members do seek change in the USWA. The best evidence of this is the considerable support given the "Fight Back" slate in the last election.

The momentum of that election is over, however, and the building of a "movement" in the USWA is a long, tedious process. As long as members don't fully utilize the democratic structure of the union, they can expect the "administration" or the "staff" to control the union. Most members probably wanted reform of the dues structure. Most would probably support expanded democratic practices. Most would probably favor the right of all members to ratify their contract. But these "most" didn't turn out to elect enough delegates of the same viewpoint to make the convention representative of membership feeling.

In most locals, the president or other top officer gets elected delegate, without any particular program or direction from the membership. Under these circumstances, most delegates will be on the sidelines on convention issues, and support the administration.

Of course, for those who might have other thoughts, there is some pre-convention orientation to help turn them off from the possibility of supporting issues brought to the forefront by activist delegates. For example, most local union officers (and most convention delegates are local union officers) have previously attended district conferences or other functions of the union.

At these events, speeches are made by union notables warning them about the onslaught of communist agitators, outsiders, company stooges, etc., in our union. And what do these bad people propose? Things like reform of the dues structure, contract ratification, internal

union reforms, etc.

I have attended such conferences, where pre-convention "orientation" was provided at length. The stage is already set to discredit legitimate reformers and union activists from promoting programs contrary to administration desires.

When I got active in the Sadlowski campaign, I personally became the target of redbaiting by some of our union officials, including then President I.W. Abel.

So the picture of USWA democracy and membership satisfaction painted by Brother Gibbons is not quite accurate.

But the opportunity for considerable change in the USWA does exist. And change will come, over a long period of time, as legitimate rank-and-file activists work together, establish good internal communications, and involve participants from more locals.

—John J. Del Vecchio  
Bridgeport, Conn.

## IS IT CLAMS' NATURE TO STAY IN THEIR SHELLS?

DUNCAN HARP'S REPORT ON THE Clamshell Alliance's new Seabrook strategy and the contribution to that strategy by the Boston-based Clams for Democracy (*ITT*, Oct. 18) raises questions not only about the Clamshell Alliance, but also about nonviolent tactics in general.

CFD argues that direct action civil disobedience "accomplishes undeniable and concrete change: stopping construction," while civil disobedience is only symbolic—I suppose "reformist" because it "legitimizes...authority."

But this distinction is revolutionary one-upmanship and rhetorical nit-picking. Do Clams really believe that the utility industry and the government are going to give up their investment in nuclear power in response to a nonviolent "assault" on a construction site by people who have yet to show that they can transform their opposition to nuclear power into a mass political movement like the movements for civil rights or against the war?

Whether Seabrook is occupied passively by sitting down, or militantly with ladders, fence-cutters and other "weapons" seems beside the point. Both actions are symbolic. Neither can stop construction.

Certainly, symbolic actions can have powerful effects, especially during this placid political period. But the challenge is to address issues in ways that people can understand, to use symbolic actions for movement-building.

The Clam has always had a tendency to become an in-group, elitist organization, limited to friends and more concerned about pleasing its own cadre than in trying to expand its constituency.

Harp indicates that this tendency has become dominant. What else can one make of such statements as—"This way, people will be organizing themselves, getting more of an infrastructure, spreading out among friends." And—"It's more important to develop respect with each other than with the media." Winning media favor is not the be-all of a movement, but reaching outward should be its main purpose.

A nonviolent movement, especially, should understand the need for mass support. The basic premise of nonviolent social change is that a majority of the people are needed for a political transformation.

There are people within the Clam and other no-nuke movements trying to build mass support. But we never hear about their efforts because the radical press seems fixated on the direct action projects. *ITT* should report how rank-and-file steelworkers came to oppose nuclear power. Or what other organizers are doing to build new alliances.

—Marty Jezer  
Montreal, Quebec

## IMPORTANT

ENCLOSED IS A CHECK TO HELP *ITT* through this period. You have the best paper to have developed on the left that we can remember. We think it important that you grow in stature and size. Good luck.

—Susan & Eliot Serde  
Buffalo, N.Y.

## O.K. ON SKOKIE

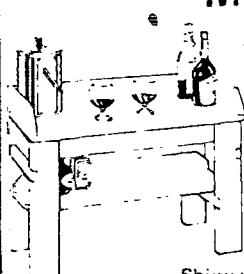
YOUR POSITION THROUGHOUT THE Skokie affair that the First Amendment has no meaning unless applicable to the most scurrilous elements of our society deserves the highest praise. Your work has been most helpful to me personally as a writer and editor.

I found it ironical that in Justice Blackmun's dissenting opinion (concurring in by White) on the Supreme Court's refusal to interfere with an Illinois lower court ruling granting Nazis their rights, there is favorable reference to the high court's 1952 decision on the *Beauharnais* case (*Beauharnais v. Ill. 343 US 250*). This decision is cited as a good example of how to deal legally with racists. As it turned out, however, the consequences of this decision were horrendous.

Joseph Beauharnais, head of the Chicago-based White Circle League of America, was indicted and sentenced to prison under a 1917 Illinois "group libel" law for circulating hate literature against Negroes. (Under this law anti-Nazi films had rough going in Illinois throughout the Hitler era.) Beauharnais appealed to the high court, then headed by Fred M. Vinson, on grounds that his First Amendment rights had been violated. His conviction was sustained in a majority opinion written by Justice Felix Frankfurter. Minority groups hailed the verdict as a great victory: at last a way had been found to punish the hate-peddler.

## Correction

The last edition of *IN THESE TIMES* was incorrectly numbered Vol. 2, No. 48. It was actually Vol. 2, No. 49. Also, awhile back, Vol. 2, No. 40 was incorrectly numbered Vol. 2, No. 50. So save those issues—they'll undoubtedly be collectors' items one day.



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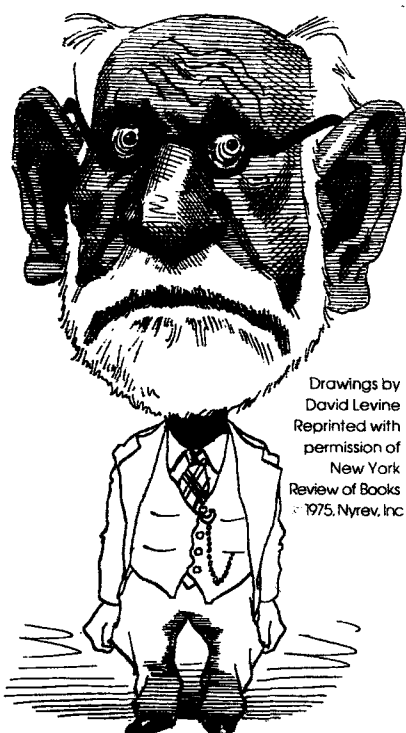
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## WITH A SUB-CONSCIOUS READERSHIP WE CAN'T MISS

Our readers may have too high a level of consciousness. Many love the paper and savor the range of our articles. Others are outraged at some of the views put forth by various writers. But for us to survive we need our readers to have a lower level of consciousness. We need you to be sub-conscious.

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Justice Black begged to differ. In a dissenting opinion (concurring by Douglas), now a classic, he termed it a devastating blow that "degrades First Amendment freedoms." He warned that a precedent had been set that eventually would entrap the opponent of racism along with the racist. Prophetic words, because a few years later, almost exactly as Black pointed out, the Supreme Court handed down anti-libertarian decisions against Lloyd Barenblatt, Uphaus, Braden, Wilkinson and other foes of the HUAC based on the *Beauharnais* decision.

As *ITT* says, there are other stronger ways to fight nazism, racism and anti-Semitism, through public exposure, education, protest and demonstration. The legal weapon can only lead to the bludgeoning and weakening of our democratic liberties.

—David Platt  
Jewish Currents  
New York

## EXEMPLARY ACTION

WE'D LIKE TO INFORM OTHER READERS about the activities of the *IN THESE TIMES* Associates Chapter here in Tucson. We began with a meeting of three people who didn't know each other. Since then, we've had six pot-luck dinners. Local activists, including officeholders, have been featured speakers at most of the dinners. The combination of politics, socializing and food has proven successful: attendance last month was 24.

It would be nice to hear from other parts of the country. Maybe we'll inspire each other.

Attention local readers: Our November dinner will feature a panel discussion evaluating state and local elections. Panelists will include State Representative candidate Bruce Wheeler and School Board candidate Raul Grijalva. When: Sunday, Nov. 19 at 5:00 p.m. Where: Friends Meeting House, 739 E. 5th St. If you can come, please call Kathy at 325-4052 or Jinx at 793-2208.

—John Farley and Kathy  
and Narty Wheeler  
Tucson, Ariz.

## BLOOD RELATIONS

THANK YOU! THANK YOU! FOR YOUR article "Blood of the Condo," by David Moberg (*ITT*, Oct. 18), which could have been about 16th Street in San Francisco's Mission District. Except that here, we still may have the chance to resist the onslaught of condominium conversion.

Having enlisted the help of the city's fire department and the health departments to curtail a two-year nightmare of almost daily arson fires in rundown hotels, and having pretty well rousted porn shops and discouraged new entrepreneurs peddling a variety of tacky merchandise, we have (mistakenly) called on the city to help our more deteriorated buildings with subsidized loans and grants for the elimination of safety and health code violations.

The idea of condominium conversion keeps coming up in all our discussions with city officials. "Homeownership" is touted as the way to improve housing. The fact that the majority of our residential buildings are multi-unit does not seem to deter the city from the idea.

The many elderly people in this neighborhood who have lived here for decades, single-parent families, immigrant and refugee families from all parts of the world, unemployed and disabled individuals, all face "displacement" if private market speculation continues. Working people won't be able to afford to live here anymore, but won't have anyplace to move, so we will probably end up having to pay a good fat chunk of our income—30-50 percent, maybe—for housing.

We are talking and thinking about alternative forms of ownership of housing. We are discussing housing cooperatives and community trust arrangements. But we are just beginning.

—Elizabeth Anello  
Chair, Operation Upgrade  
San Francisco



## JOHN CONYERS

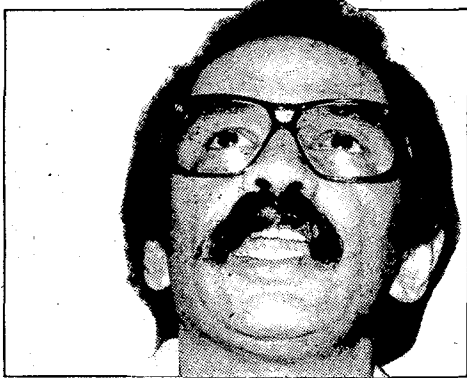
## Humphrey-Hawkins: A framework for full employment planning

ANYONE WHO HAS STUDIED the history of unemployment in this country knows that our economic and political system sustains unemployment, not full employment. The profit system depends on it, as does political and economic control. Outside of war or military build-up, the normal pattern in the last 30 years has been one of chronic, high-level unemployment and enormous disparities among ethnic and age groups, and between the sexes.

A full employment economy will require basic changes, in both institutions and attitudes. There can be few illusions about the intractability of the system. Yet changes do occur, and the real question becomes, by what means can these changes be directed to work for the unemployed and the disadvantaged. While full employment will not come about without considerable struggle, it is the key to transforming the system.

Basically, there have been three approaches to unemployment. One, which suits the establishment most and costs the least, is the trickle-down approach of economic growth, tax cuts, and transferring the costs of unemployment and welfare to the public sector. This strategy was implausible from the start and of late has encountered the added problems of lagging growth, inflation, and tax-cutting.

Public employment legislation has been a second avenue, operating by and large as a piecemeal, countercyclical device that



gears expenditures to rising joblessness and is phased out as unemployment recedes to acceptable levels. It was never designed as a means to eliminate chronic unemployment, equalize employment opportunities, or to be permanent. The 95th Congress, for example, recently cut out more than 60,000 CETA jobs.

The third approach has been tried the least. It aims to change the economic policy-making framework itself by expanding the government's role in the economy, by strengthening federal policy and planning capabilities, and by making economic policy more accountable to citizens. The Employment Act of 1946 was a first step in this direction. The Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act of 1978 continues the thrust of transforming the federal role in economic affairs.

Few pieces of legislation have aroused as much skepticism from within the ranks of supporters and as much antagonism from the establishment. The criticism is of two kinds. First, establishment opponents contend its goals are impossible.

Needless to say, they oppose full employment. Second, the skeptics complain that since the legislation contains neither an appropriation nor a mandatory jobs program, it lacks the wherewithal to achieve the goals. This misses the point of the bill.

Humphrey-Hawkins was never designed as a public jobs bill *per se*, such as CETA. It was conceived to promote a new economic policy framework, and the mandate and machinery for achieving full employment. Within this framework, new enabling legislation as well as existing programs are required for implementing the goals.

The legislation establishes for the first time a set of full employment goals and the timetable for implementing them (the goals of 3 percent or less adult unemployment, 4 percent overall, within five years). Although legislative goals in themselves are not self-enforcing, without such goals there can be neither the means to hold leaders accountable nor the basis for organizing citizen support.

Over the past decade "full" employment has been continually redefined upward and is now pegged in some quarters at 6 percent or more. This definitional sleight-of-hand will be ended. The legislation is also likely to refocus attention on the inadequacy of official measures of unemployment and the cavalier discounting of hidden unemployment and subemployment levels.

Humphrey-Hawkins establishes for the first time a set of federal economic priorities and a framework for coherent, long-term economic planning. It compels the government to coordinate all policies and programs in relation to the full employment goals, and prioritize and strengthen existing job programs, with special emphasis on combatting structural unemployment. The President's Economic Report and the Federal Reserve's monetary reports will now address full employment, and the performance in implementing the goals will be monitored by both the Joint Economic Committee and the budget committees of Congress.

While the anti-inflation goal of 3 percent by 1983 seems to blur the central focus on full employment, it does not weaken it ("...policies and programs for reducing the rate of inflation shall be designed so as not to impede achievement of the goals and timetables...for the re-

duction of unemployment"). The anti-inflation provision can be turned to great advantage. Liberals and progressives cannot remain inactive or reactive on the inflation issue. The anti-inflation provision, the most thorough ever written, will move the President and Congress to develop an economic policy that overcomes in practice what already has been repudiated in theory, the so-called inflation-unemployment trade-off solemnized by the Phillips Curve.

Next year the question of implementing Humphrey-Hawkins will loom as large as the effort of the last four years to get it enacted. The bill provides that soon after enactment a national conference on unemployment will be convened, with special emphasis on private-sector solutions to structural and youth unemployment.

It is reasonable to expect that once it becomes clear the private sector is incapable of addressing these matters, the issue of public investment will come to the fore. Among the elements of a legislative program to implement Humphrey-Hawkins ought to be: a massive, targeted job training and employment program focusing on the revitalization of cities; a community-worker ownership program for the purchase of abandoned industries; work sharing, including elimination of compulsory overtime and reduction in the standard workweek; and an anti-inflation program that deals with administered pricing, excessive military spending, and contains some form of wage and price controls.

Humphrey-Hawkins can be the vehicle for national economic planning. But much depends on the commitment to its implementation, both official and public, and to the politics surrounding it.

One of the lessons learned in the fight for passage was that even in the 1970s, citizen action, organizational pressure, and coalition-building do have considerable consequence. That pressure has to be sustained and enlarged.

The mandate for full employment, its meaning as both an inalienable human right as well as the highest social good, can be the ground upon which citizens organize to change the system.

**Rep. John Conyers (D-MI)** is chairman of the Crime Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee and a leader in the movement for full employment.

## BOOKS

## Milton's revolution: Bourgeois for all that...

### MILTON AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

By Christopher Hill

Viking Press, New York, \$20

It is as inevitable as it is welcome that the most productive scholar of the English revolution has taken the challenge of recasting the corpus of John Milton, the only literary genius to be spokesman for a revolution. While fighting skillfully on all fronts against legions and generations of critical foes, Hill attempts the reconstruction of a largely unknown Milton, a Milton he believes sprung from his bourgeois family and friends.

Hill is a Marxist who commands an unrivaled knowledge of Milton's century, the 17th.

He has generously shared his knowledge in a dozen major books and a large number of articles. Hill is no novice in the art of historical elucidation of literary figures: he has written a classic essay on Richardson and a fine piece on Marvell. But his study of Milton is undeniably a labor of special love.

Hill's reconstruction of Milton's life and work is guided by two basic convictions. The first is that intellectuals like anyone else can only be understood whole, that the work is never independent of the writer nor the writer of society. Hill sees that with Milton the problem is greater than it is for others because, (1) Milton is far the most difficult of modern writers, (2) his times are among the most complex, richly documented and socially crucial in

all history, and (3) his editors and critics have all been (often appallingly innocent) ideologues.

Hill's second conviction is that the most critical events in the making of Milton's mind were those occurring at the bottom of society in the revolutionary decades—those involving poorer people and their amazing, exotic, dynamic, frantic and fantastic religiosity. This daring premise (which I think mistaken) Hill develops into a memorable *tour de force*.

I especially recommend Part II which he calls (from words published in a tract the year the King's head was removed) "Teeming Freedom." It is a flaming wonder of erudition worthy of John Selden or Sir Henry Spelman. The poet and polemicist is brought back to a kind of induced life amid the furious turmoil of the religious radicals; the "lunatic fringe" of sectarianism, which Hill knows better than anyone, are invoked by name, work, dogma, and mass. They "teem" about Milton in a phantasmagoria of verbal strokes and allusions.

And yet, of course, Milton, as Hill repeatedly confesses, was an "elitist Puritan scholar," never a part of the democratic movement of his time, and ended profoundly disillusioned by the failure of the radicals to achieve their shared millennial vision—the very archetype of the liberal intellectual in modern revolutions.

The balance of Milton's life and work following the (for me) sublime year of 1644, which saw *Areopagitica* go to the printer, is similarly, allusively reconstructed. The major theology and the great poems are set, sometimes with brilliant

flashes of imagination, in the final throes of the Great Rebellion's agonies and ironies.

Hill ends by at once pronouncing Milton *sui generis* and yet ultimately linked to the radicals "just as far as his strong sense of the necessity of bourgeois society would permit." Hill's final judgment argues for Milton as basically faithful to the Good Old Cause, poet and theologian of the democratic revolution.

Hill is torn by Milton's genius and is drawn into errors by it. It is a striking peculiarity of his marvelous book that it contains relatively little of Milton's relation to Cromwell and the Cromwellians. It seems to me obvious that Milton was intellectually simply the most eloquent Cromwellian; like them he touched only briefly and fearfully the original, fragile life of the radical revolution.

Milton's life and work is therefore illuminated far less by its radical associations than by the consistency of his bourgeois perceptions and political decisions. That judgment in no way demeans his importance: bourgeois revolution was until very recently the best hope the world had ever known. Milton and the Cromwellians were major creators of the first of such revolutions.

Nevertheless, whatever its flaws, Hill's Milton lives a life of its own and will be read with pleasure and edification for a long time.

—C.H. George  
C.H. George, professor of history, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, is author of *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, and Revolution, from Hus to Lenin*.

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## PIERO GLEIJESES

# Carter's "new policy" in Nicaragua is neither moral nor new

THERE ARE "ONLY THREE POSSIBILITIES, IN DESCENDING order of preference: a decent democratic regime, a continuation of the Trujillo regime or a Castro regime. We ought to aim at the first, but we really can't renounce the second until we are sure that we can avoid the third." Thus spoke John Kennedy in August 1961, when his administration faced the problem of finding a safe successor to the murdered Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. For an administration immersed in the cold war and shocked by Castro's challenge, Dominicans and other Latin Americans who might in other times have appeared as democrats, however left-wing, were now tainted by the "Castroite" stigma. This attitude would prove a decisive weakness of the fragile rhetoric of the Alliance for Progress.

Santo Domingo, 1961—Managua, Nicaragua, 1978. A new succession crisis—this time centered around a live dictator—faces the U.S. and poses once again the problem of the relationship between foreign policy and morality. The special significance of this new crisis arises from President Carter's assertion that a crucial difference between him and his two Republican predecessors is the moral dimension sadly lacking in the Nixon-Ford foreign policy.

Carter emphasized morality throughout his electoral campaign, insisting that it should represent an essential characteristic of American foreign policy, and should go hand in hand with a new attitude toward change. To underline the seriousness of this "new policy," the defense of human rights should be upheld throughout the world, not only among unfriendly powers like the Soviet Union, but also among friends and allies.

Recent events in Nicaragua put Carter's policy of defending human rights and accepting the challenge of change to a test. It has failed the test.

Kennedy's dilemma is haunting Washington once more. During the recent civil war in Nicaragua, the fight against Somoza was led by the *Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional*. To the Carter administration, the *Frente* represents a hostile force, tainted by the "Red disease."

Had more trustworthy sectors led the fight in Nicaragua, Washington would have looked forward to the overthrow of Somoza, an embarrassing symbol of a not-too-glorious chapter in U.S. foreign policy. But this was not the case. The Carter administration made the traditional choice: the *Frente* must not win, even if this meant Somoza's victory. Hence Washington's initial silence and stubborn refusal to condemn a savage repression.

Despite increasing warning signals, events in Nicaragua caught the Carter administration unprepared. Paying heed now to the demands of the human rights policy, then to the requirements of a more traditional policy, the administration has alternated condemnations of Somoza's violations of human rights with more cordial gestures. The logic of this policy, or non-policy, can be explained only by bureaucratic infighting and conflicting outside pressures while lack of a sense of urgency postponed a clear, but painful, policy formulation.

Under the stress of accelerating events, Carter's policy is, on the one hand, to keep the Sandinistas from power, hence Washington's avoidance of actions that might fatally weaken Somoza. On the other hand, the administration hopes to achieve the optimum solution that Kennedy defined for the Dominican Republic: to force Somoza—after the defeat of the Sandinistas—to resign, and replace him with a coalition that would include the "democratic" (i.e., pro-American)

opposition, with perhaps token initial Sandinista participation.

Crucial, of course, would be the support of the National Guard, which, after the departure of a few senior officers most identified with Somoza, would become a "bulwark of democracy"—not the least in protecting the new regime from the Sandinista danger. This design, besides the need not to appear passive in comparison with Venezuelan and Costa Rican activism, inspired Washington's participation in the current efforts at "mediation."

But an eventual victory of the "democratic" opposition would not lead to democracy in Nicaragua, much less to the social reforms the country desperately needs. With only a few exceptions, the "democratic" opposition is hardly fired with democratic zeal, and many of its members have loyally served the dictator and shared in the rewards. Based in the small middle and upper classes, it has scant support among the popular classes. Should it accede to power, it would need the support—and would be the prisoner—of the National Guard.

To hope to democratize the Guard, which has existed only as Somoza's faithful instrument of repression—and has so performed in the recent crisis—is as illusory as Kennedy's hope, after the death of Trujillo, that it would be possible to democratize the Dominican armed forces, equally too long an instrument of repression for the reigning tyrant.

In Nicaragua, as then in the Dominican Republic, the departure of a few officers would clearly not suffice. Yet Washington is not willing, and the new government would not be able, to revamp an institution that is the only bulwark against the supposed Castroite threat. Only the Sandinistas might conceivably be able, and would certainly be willing, to undertake this task.

Assuredly, a Sandinista takeover would represent a serious swing to the left. No doubt servility to the U.S., a constant of Nicaraguan governments since 1912, would give way to a spirit of independence and nationalism, but to see in this the ghost of another Castro is to take an enormous and unwarranted leap.

The *Frente* is leftwing, no doubt, and within its leadership and rank and file, Marxists of all shades (the term is not synonymous with Marxist-Leninist) co-exist with a powerful nationalist, non-Marxist element. That the governments of Costa Rica and Venezuela, both pro-American and hardly "revolutionary," support the *Frente* indicates that they do not see the danger of a "second Cuba."

It has been argued that the U.S. should play it safe and not incur risks, however small. By its passivity while Somoza launched his American-made planes against Nicaraguan cities and massacred hundreds of innocent civilians, the administration's human rights policy appeared once again shallow and hypocritical. Equally, by its fear of change, the administration will reach the same dead end for which it has reproached its two predecessors: it will side, as usual, with the forces of immobilism. In the end, this

"safe" policy may well result in a self-fulfilling prophesy. Those who today in Nicaragua are not Marxist-Leninists and could reach a working relationship with the U.S., will see the U.S. as the eternal enemy and become what Washington fears they already are.

On Sept. 30, a lengthy article in the *Washington Post*—an influential voice in the liberal establishment—offered a foretaste of what will most likely be the official explanation of the U.S. role during the Nicaraguan civil war. Referring abundantly to unnamed State Department sources—and clearly expressing his concurrence with their views—correspondent John Goshko provided an absolute, indeed a commendation, of the administration's policy, in line with the attitude adopted by the *Post* throughout the crisis, and finely attuned to the "post-Camp David honeymoon" that marks the relations of the liberal establishment with the administration.

The State Department line, uncritically reported by Goshko, runs as follows: we did all we could, and if we didn't do more it is only because of our firm respect for the principle of nonintervention, one that our radical critics, shifting their previous position, would have us violate.

The accusations of inconsistency launched at the leftist critics is incorrect if not dishonest. No one has advocated or even suggested that the marines be sent to overthrow Somoza, as they were sent in the Dominican Republic in 1965. But there are many things Washington could have done, short of military intervention.

The administration could have recalled its ambassador—at least "for consultation"—and its military mission in Nicaragua. It could have publicly suspended all military and economic assistance to the Somoza regime, and placed a moratorium on export licenses for commercial sales of military equipment. It could have vigorously investigated the widespread accusations of recruiting of mercenaries in the U.S. to fight for Somoza. The State Department could have condemned in scathing terms, as did Venezuela, the savage repression in Nicaragua.

Defenders of the administration's policy will no doubt stress the stand taken by the State Department on Sept. 20 and 21 regarding the "allegations" of human rights violations by the National Guard.

Most likely, however, they will fail to note a "detail" that will easily be forgotten with the passing of time: this qualified condemnation took place only after many days of silence, after the defeat of the revolt appeared assured.

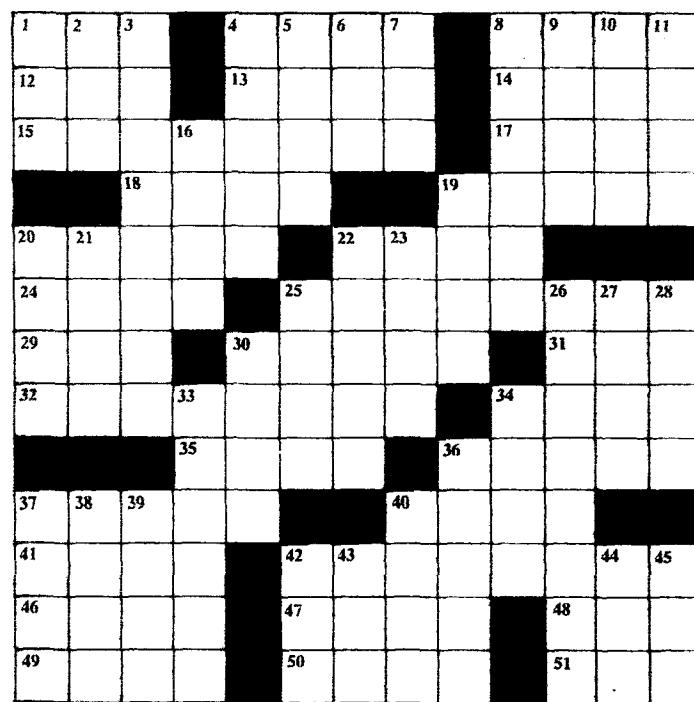
The above suggested measures would have represented intervention, administration supporters will argue. But it is difficult to imagine how an effective policy in defense of human rights abroad can be upheld without infringing to some degree the principle of nonintervention. In regard to the mighty Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the administration has chosen to raise human rights above the nonintervention principle, but in the case of Somoza's Nicaragua the opposite seems to be true.

Washington has followed a policy highly erratic, but assuredly interventionist toward Somoza. Above all, it now clearly intends to resume and strengthen this interventionist stand. Administration officials concede in private conversations, and it has been widely reported by the American press, that the U.S. will henceforth try to force Somoza to resign, and impose the "democratic solution" already outlined above—obviously a highly interventionist policy.

The passivity of the administration during the crisis cannot be explained by its respect for the principle of nonintervention. Washington avoided all actions that might have overtly weakened Somoza and destabilized the National Guard so long as the danger existed that the Sandinista-led revolt might triumph.

Now, with the defeat of the revolt, the "Castroite" threat is no longer an imminent possibility, and Washington will no doubt apply pressure on Somoza and the National Guard to reach a "democratic solution." We can expect, however, Washington's return to a strict adherence to the principle of nonintervention should Somoza's dismissal appear too likely to destabilize the National Guard, bulwark of "security" and "democracy," in any "pro-American solution" in Nicaragua.

Piero Gleijeses is associate professor of American Foreign Policy at the Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of *The Dominican Crisis: The 1965 Constitutional Revolt and American Intervention*, Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming.



## Mideast Action

By Jay Shepherd

## ACROSS

- 1 Preserve
- 4 Oklahoma town
- 8 God of love
- 12 High note
- 13 Wicked look
- 14 "Alons enfants — patrie"
- 15 Controversial region
- 17 Healthy
- 18 Stratum
- 19 Camp David guest
- 20 Decorate
- 22 Rend
- 24 Body of ore

- 25 Unused
- 29 Past
- 30 Uneven
- 31 WW II agency
- 32 Deserter
- 34 Berlin waiter
- 35 Deprivation
- 36 Heaped
- 37 Camp David guest
- 40 Printer's term
- 41 Moslem leaders
- 42 Bothered
- 46 Wood strip
- 47 Seaweed product
- 48 Artful
- 49 Concept

- 50 Certain limbs
- 51 Piece out

## DOWN

- 1 Semite
- 2 Pub drink

- 3 Elephantlike mammal
- 4 V.P. Barkley
- 5 Father of Cordelia
- 6 Big
- 7 of the Covenant
- 8 Playwright Albee
- 9 Musical instrument
- 10 Cooking pot
- 11 USA-USSR treaty
- 16 Grow weary
- 19 Lucid
- 20 Winged
- 21 of Venice
- 22 Steps on
- 23 Comfort
- 25 Pierre's arm
- 26 oblige
- 27 Dueling weapon
- 28 City district
- 30 Masculine name
- 33 Biblical prophet
- 34 Lubricates
- 36 Fruits
- 37 South Pacific island
- 38 Minced oath
- 39 Barrier
- 40 Haul
- 42 Bonnie Prince
- 43 Mature
- 44 Wapiti
- 45 Color

## Answer to last week's puzzle:





# Tax bill

Continued from page 5.

tax credit was made permanent, and the amount of the total tax bill that can be offset through this credit was increased from 50 percent to 90 percent. This means that corporations like Exxon with large capital expenses may be able to write off 90 percent of their taxes on the investment tax credit alone.

The corporate income tax was also lowered from a rate schedule of 20 to 48 percent to one of 17 to 46 percent, and the maximum tax rate on corporate capital gains was reduced from 30 percent to 28 percent. Since 1950, corporations have been making up a declining percentage of the federal tax burden (25.4 percent in 1950 and 16 percent in 1977). The Revenue Act will accelerate this trend.

## Weak opposition.

Even more depressing than the bill itself was the weakness of the opposition. Early efforts to put together a tax reform coalition fell apart. United Auto Workers lobbyist Howard Pastor blamed the coalition's failure on the Carter administration's unwillingness to fight for its reforms.

The votes reflected this vast difference in outside pressure. In the House a last-ditch effort to make the tax cuts progressive and to eliminate new capital gains breaks was defeated 225 to 193 with 27 Northern Democrats going over to the opposition. By the time the bill got to the Senate, the Carter administration had given up the ship except on the tuition tax credit and the size of the final cut. When Kennedy proposed no new capital gains relief, his proposal lost 82 to 10.

I asked Robert Brandon of Nader's Tax Reform Group why he thought that his forces had been so roundly defeated. Brandon thought that one reason was the issue itself. Taxes was an issue in which "business had a disproportionate interest. The average taxpayer is not going to take to the streets." Brandon thought that the business lobby had become ascendant dur-

ing the 95th Congress and that the tax issue was the peak of its ascendancy.

But in listening to some of the testimony, I sensed another reason for the left's defeat. The left didn't really have a program to answer the business lobbyists. The most they could say was that it was unfair. This is nothing to sneeze at in a country where everyone is supposed to be created equal, but it is not enough to convince those who were looking for more from the tax program. When Brandon testified to the Senate Finance Committee on the inequities of the capital gains relief proposal, Robert Packwood (R-OR) commented: "Mr. Brandon, your statement reiterates anti-rich statements, but they are made just on the bald basis, if the rich get a break, it is bad.... Let's go to Steiger-Hanson bill to begin with. (This was the bill to reduce capital gains taxes.) If, for no other reason—and there are many others—why not pass it simply because it would result in an increase in revenue to the Treasury?"

Brandon: "I am not interested in simply increasing revenue to the Treasury. I would like to see that the goods and services supported by the federal government are paid for in a fair and equitable manner, and I do not believe—"

Packwood: "Can we not pay for more of them if we pass a bill?"

Brandon went on to explain that "reducing everybody's taxes would stimulate the economy in a much more efficient manner." But Packwood persisted: "You would rather have us reduce government revenue than to have some of the rich escape taxation."

I quote this testimony not to illustrate Packwood's strengths as a debater, but to show the obstacles that a tax reformer like Brandon is up against within the peculiar universe of discourse on tax policy. Once one enters this universe, any reference to direct expenditures and investment controls is forbidden. One is at the mercy of private decision-makers and market forces.

With the tax bill, the proponents of genuine tax reform were working on this disadvantageous terrain, and it is not surprising that they lost most of the debates.

# MCDONALD'S

Continued from page 13.

Pounder buns in two minutes and six Big Mac buns in 2.5 minutes.

After the organizing drive started at Wabash, Lyon Weber began following the anti-union formula. The Christmas party, which had been postponed repeatedly, was finally held at Dingbat's Disco on the day before Valentine's Day; originally the party had been scheduled for the basement of one of the other franchises. Measurements were taken for basketball jerseys, though the signup sheet had gone around twice in the preceding four months without any followup by the company. A bowling team was formed, and attempts were made to start volleyball and softball teams. Workers began getting a free lunch for each shift they worked; previously they'd had to pay for their meals. The number of lockers doubled, another dressing room was constructed, and music was piped into the crew room. A game called McBingo was started; employees who attended training sessions for different crew positions received, in addition to their hourly wage, play money called McLee and McNorm bucks (bearing photographs of Lee Esarove, area supervisor, and Norm Donohue, Wabash manager). The play money was legal tender at the auction of a television and other prizes held after the training sessions ended.

The company posted an article from the *Chicago Tribune* which named the Hotel and Restaurant Workers as one of the three major unions in the city under investigation by the Justice Department for crime syndicate influence. Management also began a cartoon series in which the union was represented by a Superfly sort of character in outlandish clothing, a black, named Willie Popcorn, while the company was represented by Straight Speakin' Deacon, a white man in a dark blue choir robe with a clergyman's collar, holding a scale in one hand and a Bible in the other.

For a while, the managers also tried to split up Sorriano and Cunningham, offering the former a higher paying job while riding Cunningham, trying to paint him as a sloppy worker to the crew. Managers began escorting them to the door when their shifts were over to keep them from talking to other employees.

One day in February, Sorriano arrived at work to see a memo marked "To the managers only" lying in full view on a desk in the crew room. "It has come to our attention," the memo said, "that Mike Sorriano is being paid by the union." Sorriano demanded that the paper be posted, and did his best to squelch the rumor.

For spotting potential rebels and determining the depth of union sympathy, the McDonald's corporation has devised the rap session, at which employees are allowed to air their gripes and offer suggestions. It was designed to show that managers really care about their crews, but, according to Boas and Chain, in effect it is little more than "a sophisticated interrogation technique."

On Jan. 29, five days after Local 593 asked for recognition, a rap session was held at the Wabash outlet with two guests from Hamburger Central, executives Jim Morgan and James Smith. First, the two handed out questionnaires, asking crew members what they liked and disliked about the Wabash operation, requiring no signatures with the answers. Morgan then spoke at some length, saying there were 4,400 McDonald's, that none of them were unionized, and that further, no one could tell McDonald's what to do. According to Sorriano, who took notes during the speech, Morgan also played on the fears of the women employees, some of them mothers, by explaining that union dues were like a garnishment, that they came out of the paycheck even if there were hungry babies at home who had no milk.

ON FEB. 2, THE UNION filed an unfair labor practices charge against Lyon Weber, charging the company with surveillance, threats of a reprisal,

and attempting to buy off employees with benefits who were involved in union activity. The company signed a settlement agreement on March 29, by which they admitted no guilt but agreed to post a notice for 60 days saying that they would not interrogate or question employees regarding their union membership, prevent the distribution of union literature, create the impression that the organizers were under surveillance or being watched, or try to buy off anyone with promises of extra benefits.

However, that decision was the last union victory. When the union and the company met before the NLRB in February to settle the union's demand for an election, the hotel workers argued that they had enough signatures from the Wabash employees to qualify for an election; the company argued that the appropriate bargaining unit was not the single outlet on Wabash, but all 11 in the Lyon Weber chain, and that therefore the union did not have enough signatures. All the decisions were made in the Rolling Meadows headquarters, Lyon and his attorney contended, claiming individual managers had no discretion in the day-to-day operations of the restaurants because the manuals the company provided set forth precise procedures. The union countered the company's claims by putting employees on the witness stand who testified that the store managers operated with considerable autonomy, contradicting Lyon's claims of exactly where some decisions were made, particularly those of hiring and firing.

On April 12, the NLRB's regional director announced that he sided with Lyon Weber. The decision was hardly unprecedented, as management firms in Hawaii, Brooklyn and probably several other places have beaten union challenges using the same argument of centralized management and similar working conditions. "The regional director," union lawyers argued in their appeal, "confuses product uniformity, for which all McDonald's strive, with a common and interchangeable bargaining unit.... This decision, if permitted to stand, would be a clear signal to the fast food franchise industry that the simple way to avoid collective bargaining is to write manuals of multi-store procedures, while in fact they continue to operate single store units."

On June 20, the NLRB in Washington upheld the regional director's decision and once again sided with McDonald's.

SIX WEEKS LATER, SORRIANO, Cunningham and almost all of their organizing committee had left Lyon Weber's employ. The Hotel and Restaurant workers declined to try to organize the other ten stores in the Lyon Weber system. Clark says that it could be done, given a lot of money and a lot of time, but in the next breath confesses that she fears the suburban stores may house a different breed of worker, a middle-class white kid working for pin money, living in his father's house, eating the food his father puts on the table. Some of the Wabash workers, like Cunningham and Sorriano, were trying to live on the pittance they made as full and part-time McDonald's employees.

Ray Kroc and the corporation, meanwhile, roll right on. With the exception of a hard-fought but losing battle to keep the company from digging in in San Francisco in 1973, McDonald's has not been seriously challenged by a union, though different outlets have been organized for short periods of time. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers seem content to denounce Kroc for depressing wages throughout the restaurant industry, while taking no solid action against a company that has revolutionized American eating habits and employment in the food industry, a corporation that more than any other is the future of the American restaurant.

And so a new McDonald's opened yesterday, yet another will open today, and still another tomorrow. And the score remains Kroc, 25 billion; Unions, zero. John Conroy is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

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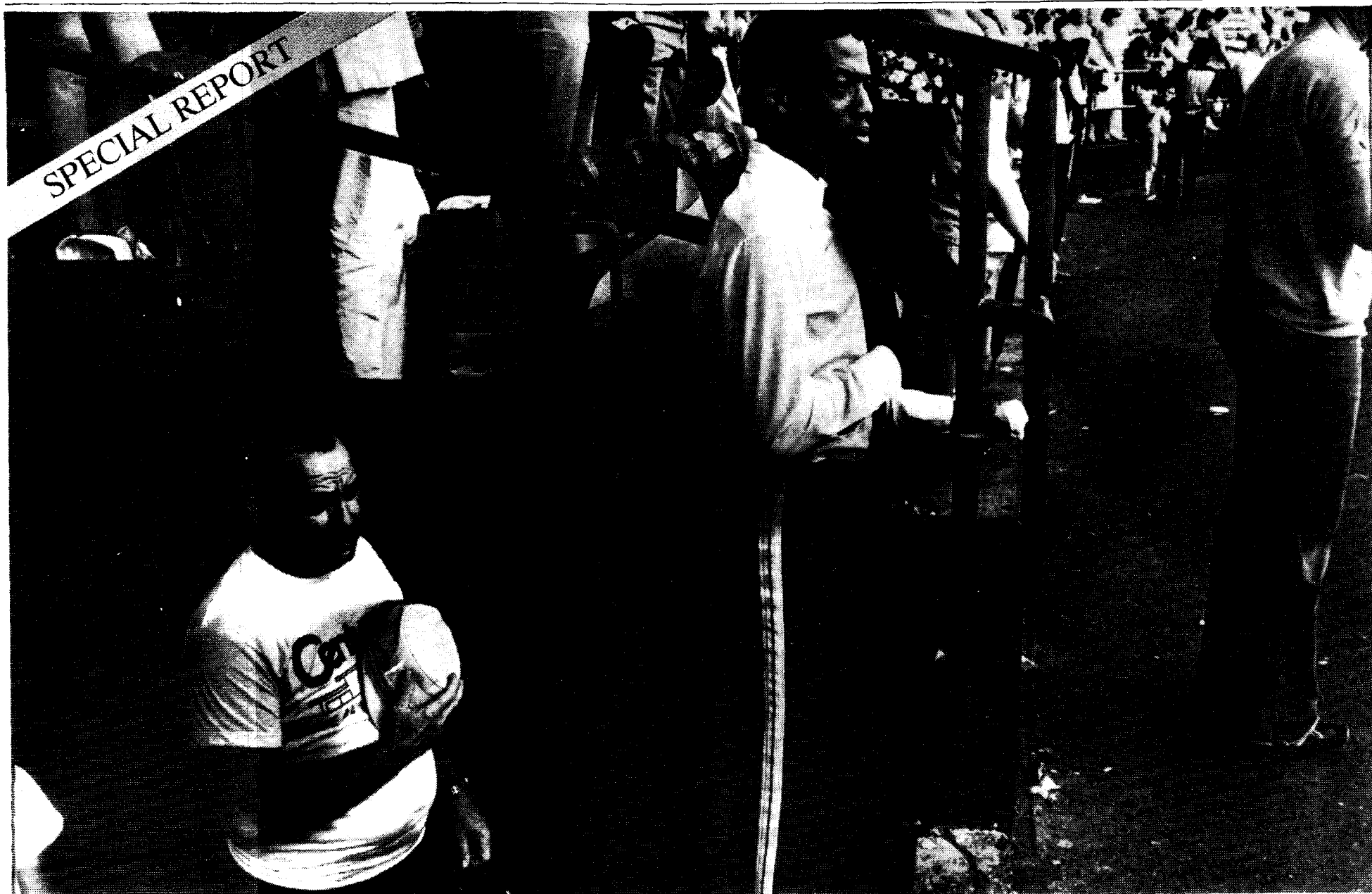
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## LIFE IN THE U.S.



Meg Gerken

## A Consumers' Guide for Sports Activists

By Jim Ford and Mark Naison

**R**ARELY BEFORE IN AMERICAN history have sports been the subject of such widespread controversy and political debate. From the Little Leagues to college campuses to Congressional corridors, battle lines are being drawn that will determine the shape of American sports for years to come—battles concerning the rights and opportunities of women, the training of amateur athletes for international competition, the financial and legal status of professional sports franchises, and the balance between spectator and participatory sports.

Concerned citizens and political activists have usually left the task of confronting the sports establishment to sports reformers. Until recently, owners of sports franchises, heads of athletic departments and administrators of amateur athletics have run their "fiefs" virtually free from public scrutiny and control. Fiscal management, profit grabbing, and exploitation of athletes, fans and taxpayers have thus reached crisis proportions, enough so that publications like *Sports Illustrated* have called for limited government regulation of the sports business.

Political activists have a rare opportunity to help influence the future of American sports by joining sports reform efforts in their communities, schools and workplaces, and by seeking membership in bodies that control the distribution of athletic resources.

The following "Citizens' Guide to Sports Activism" suggests some practical ways to do this.

## THE NATIONAL ARENA

Several key issues in sports are currently being debated in Congress or are proper targets of action for national coalitions of sports activists—the enforcement of Title

IX, the legislation providing for equal opportunity for women in intercollegiate and interscholastic sports; the implementation of the President's Commission on Olympic Sports, which has evolved into Senate Bill 2727; and the extension of public control to the financial and administrative practices of professional sports franchises.

## THE ENFORCEMENT OF TITLE IX

Since the enactment of Title IX in 1972, coaches, athletic departments and NCAA officials have carried on a well-financed and successful lobbying effort to limit the effect of the legislation. Until recently, HEW public information officer Larry Veniro admits, HEW's Office of Civil Rights—the federal arm authorized to implement Title IX—tacitly aided stonewalling efforts because the Nixon and Ford administrations "weren't sufficiently enthused about Title IX."

Resistance to HEW's malingering on Title IX, both federally and locally, was initially led by NOW's Task Force on Women and Sports, the Women's Equity Action League Education and Legal Defense Fund, and the ACLU's Women's Rights Projects. These organizations initiated lawsuits and lobbied extensively for enforcement of Title IX.

At present, legal, lobbying and research efforts in support of Title IX are coordinated by the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education (American Council on Education, Office of Women in Higher Education, 1 Dupont Circle, #831, Washington, D.C. 20036). The coalition includes:

- Project on Equal Education Rights, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20005. PEER monitors enforcement of Title IX in public schools, publishes a free quarterly newsletter *PEER Perspective*, and has published a Resources and Publications List.
- Women's Equity Action League, 805

15th St., N.W., Suite 822, Washington, DC 20005. The SPRINT project of the WEAL Education and Legal Defense Fund publishes a free quarterly newsletter, *In the Running*, issues a sports resource kit for women (\$4.00), and offers a Materials and Publications List.

- Project on the States and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., N.W., Washington, DC 20009. PSEW focuses primarily on women in sports at the collegiate level, publishes a free quarterly newsletter, *On Campus With Women*, and offers a Project Materials and Publications List.

- American Association of University Women, 2401 Virginia Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20037, which lobbies on behalf of Title IX and has prepared the report *Monitoring Title IX: A Guide to Action for the Voluntary Organization* (\$1.50).

- Center for Women and Sport, the Sports Research Institute, White Building, University Park, PA 16802. The Center is expanding research interests in all areas relating to women involved in physical activities.

- Women's Sports Foundation, 1660 South Amphlett Blvd., Suite 266, San Mateo, CA 94402. The foundation is working to involve women in athletics on local and national levels, and publishes the free *Women's Sports Foundation Newsletter*.

Inconsistent lower court rulings have muddled legal efforts to ensure compliance with Title IX. Until a test case is decided by the Supreme Court, there is no certainty that law suits filed—and won—by individuals and organizations will have any impact, nor is it certain whether the complaint procedures available to individuals and organizations through HEW's Office of Civil Rights are concerned citizens' only means of recourse. For information or legal assistance pertaining to Title IX and women in sports contact:

- Women's Rights Project of ACLU, 22 E. 40th St., New York, NY 10016.
- Women's Law Fund, 1621 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, OH 44115.

## THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON OLYMPIC SPORTS: THE AMATEUR ATHLETIC ACT OF 1978

The President's Commission on Olympic Sports was formed in response to the deteriorating performance of American athletes in international competition. Upon termination, it issued a report that criticized existing structures for training amateur athletes, and (implicitly) the absence of public facilities and programs for mass sports participation.

The Commission's report concentrated on improving opportunities for world-class athletes and called for greater corporate involvement in the financing and promotion of amateur sports. It helped pave the way for legislation recently passed by Congress.

The Amateur Athletic Act of 1978 empowers the U.S. Olympic Committee to serve as the coordinating arm for the Olympics and the Pan-American games. Other amateur organizations—the AAU, the NCAA and the AIAW—will have to be certified by the USOC to represent and administer U.S. participation in specific sports and events.

The Act also gives the American Arbitration Association the authority to settle disputes arising between the groups wishing to serve as the national governing bodies in sports such as track and field—where the NCAA and the AAU have locked horns (to the detriment of the sport and the athletes involved)—as well as to resolve athletes' complaints against the governing organizations.

In addition, the Act appropriates \$16 million in federal funds—\$10 million for development programs and \$6 million for Olympic training centers and the creation of a sports-medicine program, both to be administered by the USOC. Not surprisingly, the NCAA at first opposed the law; executive director Walter Byers de-

*Continued next page.*



clared that "our members will countenance no more federal intervention."

The Act isn't perfect, but it is a first step toward the development of better programs and facilities for sports participation by the general public, if not a prelude to federal regulation of amateur athletics. The bickering between national sports governing bodies over how to divide and spend the money has already started. It is, therefore, important that individuals and organizations monitor the administration of the Act by the USOC and its implementation locally.

### THE CONTROL OF PROFESSIONAL SPORTS

For almost a year, the effort to force greater accountability of professional sports franchises has been led by the Ralph Nader spin-off organization, Fight to Advance the Nation's Sports (FANS).

FANS reports the average ticket prices for the four major professional sports—NFL (\$9.67), NBA (\$6.76), NHL (\$7.87) and Major League Baseball (\$3.98)—as well as individual average ticket prices for all of the teams in each league. Its researchers have determined that: the average per team profit in the NFL in 1978 will be \$3.9 million or more and that it will be impossible for any team to lose money this season; ticket prices in all sports bear little or no relation to team costs or player salaries; teams that pay the highest salaries in pro sports are generally the most profitable franchises in their respective leagues; the more equitable a league's revenue sharing, the more financially stable and competitively balanced the league is as a whole; the total public cost for municipal stadiums used by NFL teams is \$837.3 million. Not a single municipal stadium or arena is self-supporting.

In March, FANS proposed new legislation for an anti-blackout law that was subsequently introduced verbatim in both houses of Congress. Other lobbying efforts have included: supporting President Carter's tax reform bill that would eliminate the business tax write-off for purchase of tickets to sports events; calling for full financial disclosure by all professional sports teams; demanding that NFL teams reduce ticket prices, hold the line on present prices and end season-ticket only sales policies; initiating an FCC inquiry into various aspects of sports broadcasting; and prompting support on Capitol Hill to conduct a full investigation into pro sports' anti-trust status.

FANS has studied operations of community-owned teams. It concludes that publicly-owned franchises are financially solvent, unlikely to be uprooted and may be the only way to sustain fan interest and ensure the long range survival of professional sports.

Moreover, in recent months FANS has shed its consumerism-only image by supporting the rights of women as fans and sports participants. It has documented the exploitation of athletes in intercollegiate sports, criticized the lack of adequate intramural programs and recreational facilities available to the non-scholarship-athlete student populations, called for sweeping reforms (read that federal regulation) in intercollegiate athletics, and presented a 14-point "Bill of Rights" for children's participation in sports. FANS has argued that expenditure of public funds would be better used for facilities for the general public than for construction and subsidizing of stadiums for pro teams.

The long-range thrust of FANS is to supplement publicizing of abuses with organizing; it seeks to create a network of autonomous local chapters throughout the country that will provide sports activists an opportunity to become a power on national and local issues.

While FANS has participated in or contributed to local movements in Buffalo, Minneapolis-St. Paul and Los Angeles, the most immediate prospects for viable local FANS organizations exist in the New York City metropolitan area (persons interested should contact: Richard Kessel, 412 Midwood Ave., Belmore, NY 11710) and in the San Francisco Bay area.

Because of inadequate financial support, the Washington, D.C., headquarters of FANS suspended operations at the end of August. The Bay area chap-

ter, however, has begun operations and is assuming the national coordination of FANS. It hopes to continue publications of its monthly newsletter, *LeftField*.

Despite its problems, FANS has had a real impact on sports operations and sports culture. If it falls by the wayside it will be a major setback for the sports reform movement.

Persons who are interested in joining, supporting or working with FANS should

athletic departments determined to field a major college football team at the expense of all else, have met with some success. But without direction from faculty—and the involvement of outside groups such as NOW, the NAACP, Sports for the People, FANS, etc.—campus efforts inevitably die out because the denizens of the athletic departments simply outlast the university life-span of student sports activists.



Meg Gerken

## Despite its commercialization, sports is a touchstone of cooperation and creativity for millions of people.

contact: FANS, c/o Ted Vincent, 2333 Fulton, Berkeley, CA 94704, or FANS, P.O. Box 19312, Washington, DC 20036.

### THE COLLEGE SCENE

Among the most important sports issues at colleges and universities are: the exploitation of scholarship athletes; the lack of opportunity for women to participate in intercollegiate and intramural sports; the exclusion of blacks, women and other minorities from administrative positions in athletic departments; and required payments by students of inflated "activity fees" that subsidize intercollegiate sports programs.

Sports reform movements on campus have not made much progress. Almost every student, scholarship athlete and faculty member interviewed in the preparation of this guide pointed out that anyone who challenges the college sports establishment faces the threat of expulsion, loss of scholarship or denial of tenure. The following, therefore, is recommended for tenured faculty members or those with a strong campus political base, as it is almost certain to drive powerful alumni and coaches into fits of rage.

As a first step, concerned faculty should seek appointment to "athletic advisory committees" established at most universities to facilitate relationships between the faculty and the athletic department. Many who serve in these positions are "jock sniffers," people who like being around athletes and enjoy the perquisites of friendship with coaches—prime location tickets to games and access to the locker room.

Once gaining an appointment, the position can be used as a forum for greater opportunity for women, to take coaches to task for pushing athletes into non-degree programs and to lobby for the selection of delegates to governing bodies such as the NCAA and the AIAW that are representatives of the university as an educational institution rather than the athletic department solely.

It is essential to unite established campus organizations—black and women's caucuses, student governing groups, campus publications, socialist organizations—into coalitions pressing for the reform of athletic programs. Athletic departments are vulnerable to publicity and pressure since their recruiting and hiring practices are often questionable. Campus-wide campaigns may bring concessions; recent efforts by student governments and senates at various universities, especially schools like Colorado State University where funds are systematically drained from other intercollegiate programs and all intramural programs by

Activists should also seek membership on college admissions committees. This is an excellent way to monitor recruiting policies of athletic departments and to find out if—and how—athletes who have little hope of graduating are being brought in. Information gathered through this channel can be useful in public campaigns.

Since many colleges are publicly supported, pressure should also be brought upon state officials to regain financial and policy control of university athletics from their athletic departments. A pacesetter in this regard is the Student Committee for Educational Equity (SCEE), a state counterpart program to the Massachusetts Department of Education.

Having completed its second year of funding, the SCEE project is focused primarily on the implementation of Title IX. SCEE has started to develop student training materials as well as to establish a model network of student involvement programs designed to bring students into educational decisions at all levels—state, local and regional.

Although SCEE now functions only on the high school level, the concept could easily move beyond that of Title IX and be implemented across the country on college campuses. The SCEE program is worth monitoring as a structural device to create viable college organizations where students would play direct decision-making roles in all sports program policy determinations. (Those who want information about SCEE should write: SCEE, c/o Massachusetts Department of Education, 31 St. James Ave., Boston, MA 02116.)

### SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY—THE LOCAL SCENE

Sports provide an excellent nucleus to make questions of democracy and social justice concrete in relation to people's daily lives. Local efforts can be focused on virtually every community governing body—school system and city councils, in particular—all of which make decisions that affect sports participation and programs.

As a first step, concerned citizens should seek election to local school boards using sports reform as a platform. Title IX or not, in most metropolitan areas—and in many small or rural communities—there simply aren't recreational facilities and sports programs available to children of either sex.

With financing problems mounting in public school systems, sports programs have been the first to be slashed or eliminated. This trend should be resisted.

"It's fallacious to think that all child-

ren are motivated to learn through books and classroom instruction alone," says Washington, D.C., school board member Alaire Reifferl. "Without athletics as a stimulus, there is the danger that many kids could be lost to the educational process—especially at the secondary level—and as a result forced into a job market that can't or won't accommodate them, denied any real chance for upward mobility, and abandoned to the Russian Roulette of the streets."

Former NAACP executive secretary Joe Madison struck an analogous chord last fall during his campaign for a seat on the Detroit city council. Sports were one of Madison's major campaign issues, specifically the Detroit Pistons' plans to follow the Lions to the Silverdome in Pontiac. Madison said the move would "feed white suburban fears about downtown Detroit [and] take jobs and revenue out of Detroit." During his campaign Madison spearheaded a group of 25 community organizers representing neighborhood clubs, the Detroit chapters of PUSH and the NAACP, U.S. Reps. John Conyers and Charles Diggs, the head of the Inner City Business Improvement Forum, more than half of the city's public school league's basketball coaches, and other civic leaders into forming the Coalition to Protest the Pistons (COPP).

COPP initiated a petition and letter-writing drive and picketed Pistons' home games. Despite its efforts, however, the Pistons have deserted Detroit, following in the footsteps of a growing number of professional teams that have fled their traditional homes for suburbia.

A similar situation now exists in Minneapolis-St. Paul where the community has been warned that the Minnesota Vikings might leave unless the team gets better facilities—preferably a new domed stadium. Led by stadium vendor Julian Empson, a grass-roots organization called Save the Met Committee has sprung up in the Twin Cities. The Save the Met Committee (P.O. Box 4462, St. Paul, Minn. 55104) favors renovation of the existing Metropolitan Stadium—with limits to be placed on the expenditure of public funds—and is calling for guarantees that will also provide for construction and maintenance of facilities that are used by the public.

Regardless of the outcome in the Twin Cities, the efforts of COPP and the Save the Met Committee point to the need to build community bases for sports-related movements. One of the most effective local sports activist groups is Sports for the People—a New York-based organization which has had spinoffs in Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh, and the California Bay area.

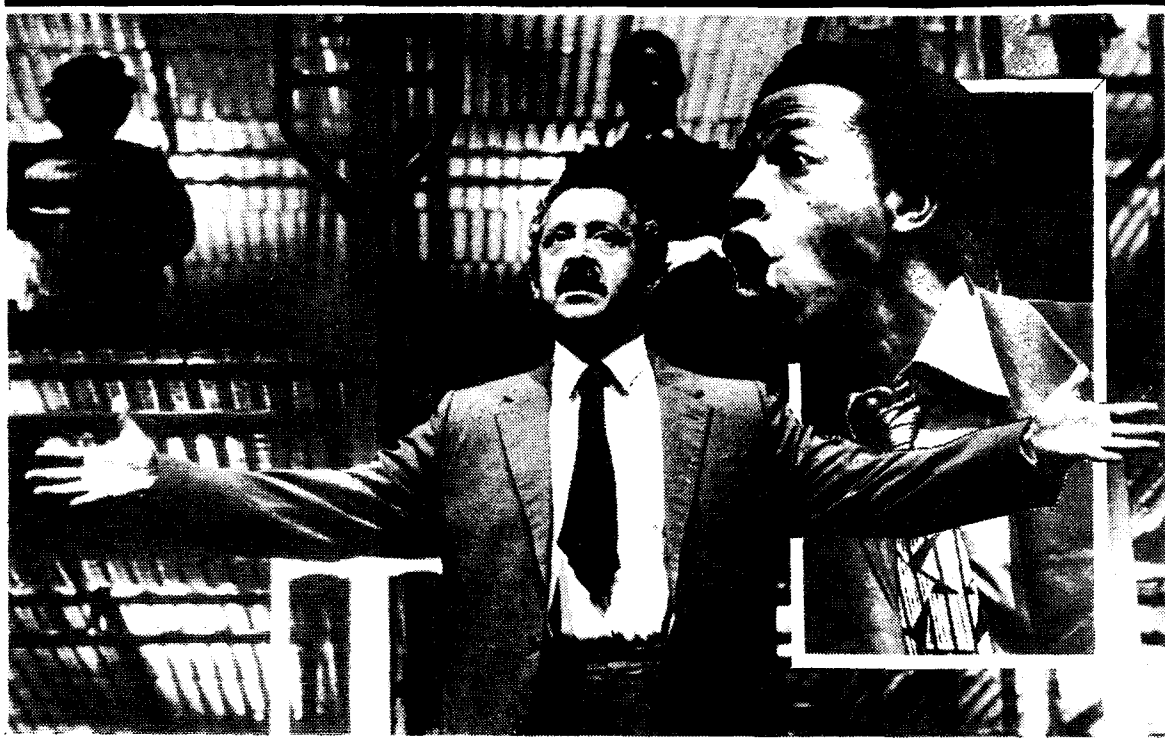
Sports For the People "believes that the beauty, healthfulness and opportunity for self-realization which can be found in the sports experience should be within reach of everyone—young and old, male and female, black and white." The organization has conducted lectures at churches, colleges and community centers; organized a People's Opening Day at Yankee Stadium in which 1,000 people protested the closing of hospitals, schools and the deterioration of parks in the South Bronx; helped organize anti-apartheid demonstrations at the U.S. Open and the Davis Cups; coordinated New York City's first Senior Olympics involving over 1,000 senior citizens; and sponsored a job-a-thon in conjunction with the 11th International Youth Festival which raised nearly \$1,000 for scholarships to send young people from across the U.S. to this year's festival in Havana, Cuba. (Those who wish to contact Sports For the People should write: Sports For the People, 533 W. 134 St., NY, NY 10031.)

### CONCLUSION

The activities described here constitute only a first step in what can be an important movement for the democratization of American sports. Despite the corruption of its current forms, sports serve as a touchstone of neighborliness and personal creativity for tens of millions of people, and the ability to incorporate such values into other movements might be a source of great energy and political strength.



# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



The defense attorney (Mike Nussbaum) pleads, and Bigger (Mesach Taylor) rages.

## THEATER

### *Native Son* haunts theater

*Native Son*, Richard Wright's celebrated novel about black life in America, is being staged by Chicago's Goodman Theater as its season's opener. And the question is: why?

Wright based his novel in part on the Robert Nixon murder case, which became a *cause celebre* in Chicago in 1938. Nixon and another young black were accused of beating a white woman to death. They were also accused of rape, although there was no evidence of sexual assault.

The *Chicago Tribune*, in a series of sensationalist articles, depicted Nixon as a "rapist slayer," "jungle beast," and "sex moron." By implication, the black community of Chicago, and indeed the entire race was on trial. The trial was typically brief, the jury deliberating for only one hour. Nixon was sentenced to death in the electric chair. By the time he died, on June 16, 1939, Wright had completed *Native Son*.

The impact of the novel was immense. No more could white Americans look at housekeepers and see the face of a Hattie McDaniel. Bill "Bojangles" Robinson could be smiling and dancing with Shirley Temple, but what was really lurking behind that grin?

#### Violent truth.

Bigger Thomas, protagonist of the novel, had his roots in the Southern soil, the South that Mississippi born Wright knew all too well and described in *Black Boy*. Bigger was, like Wright himself, a Southern migrant to Chicago. (Wright's bitter experiences there he recalled in *American Hunger*.)

*Native Son* opens with an act of violence. Bigger kills a rat gleefully, and then threatens his sister with it. The novel then rushes to Bigger's accidental killing of his white employer's daughter, and to his execution. Throughout, one senses a man imprisoned, within a hostile white society and within himself. Violence is the only way he can obtain freedom.

The original version of *Native Son* was produced largely by whites. Orson Welles directed *Native Son* on Broadway. The script was written by white dramatist Paul Green, who had won a

Pulitzer Prize in the '20s for another black drama. He invited Wright down to North Carolina to collaborate with him for only one month, claiming that Wright did not understand stagecraft and therefore should have a limited role in the adaptation.

The reviews of the time recount the amazing impact the play had on the public. Audiences trembled, and membership in interracial societies increased. Unfortunately, critics also noted that the script lacked much of the novel's impact because much of Bigger's motivation could not be translated to the stage. Yet the play, with the novel, ushered in a new era of black protest art.

*Native Son* as a play has not attracted any major attention since then, until this season's revival at the Goodman. Why was it revived in 1978 in the post-Civil rights era?

#### Black theater sells.

One answer may be that black theater sells these days. *Ain't Misbehavin'* and *The Wiz* are smash hits on Broadway and *Eubie* (based on the music of Eubie Blake) is settling in for a comfortable run. *Timbuktu*, *For Colored Girls...*, and Sammy Davis Jr.'s *Stop the World...* are doing quite nicely, too. There have also been the black versions of *Guys and Dolls*, and soon to come is a black version of *Pal Joey* with Lena Horne.

Regional theaters depend on less expensive dramas. Chicago, after the resounding success of last season's *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead* by South African dramatist Athol Fugard, is caught up in a kind of Fugarditis. No less than three of his plays are being staged, two by the same theater.

While Fugard is a dramatist of considerable power, and his subject matter—racism and apartheid—is more than worthy, his plays are mainly rooted in the African experience. His locales and circumstances are still far enough away to make us comfortable and smug about the racial situation in America. And *Ain't Misbehavin'* is that old staple of Broadway, the "darky musical." Everyone wants to capture the potentially lucrative black audience. There's gold in them there ghettos.

Although the musicals are brisk, irreverent and fun, they can also be destructive; they destroy the market for work that deals with the reality of black life today. *Mighty Gents*, a play that dealt with black New York street gangs, opened and quickly closed on Broadway. Audiences, blacks and whites alike, have come to expect something with a little bit more finger poppin'.

#### No longer timely.

One major factor in the impact of Welles' production of *Native Son* was the relevance of the story to its times. The play is firmly grounded in the experience of post-migration blacks, a people confronted with an alien environment. And although the Goodman production is mounted with much skill and concern, *Native Son* is dated in many ways.

Credit must be given to director Gregory Mosher, who has mercifully pared down much of Green's script. He stages the play on a heroic scale, making it appear allegorical. The acting, especially Mesach Taylor's portrayal of Bigger, exactly matches Mosher's vision. The play works because he makes us stand back from it and, at the same time, lets his (mostly white) audience know that the issues in this play aren't as far removed from the present as they would like them to be.

Yet *Native Son* is not meant to be looked at from a distance, to be scrutinized like some rare old jewel that still retains some of its brilliance. *Native Son* was written for its time and in its time by a man burning with the desire to right the injustices that he saw.

And there's the problem. Do you sigh in sadness because things have not changed that much? Do you squirm in boredom? Or do you scratch your head in wonder?

Aren't there more contemporary dramas that deal with the same issues, that hit home and don't allow us to evade the facts in an outdated play? Aren't black writers writing good theater? Or aren't theaters producing them? Is there a black renaissance in the theater or are we going backward?

—Bonnie Greer

Bonnie Greer is a Chicago freelance writer and playwright.

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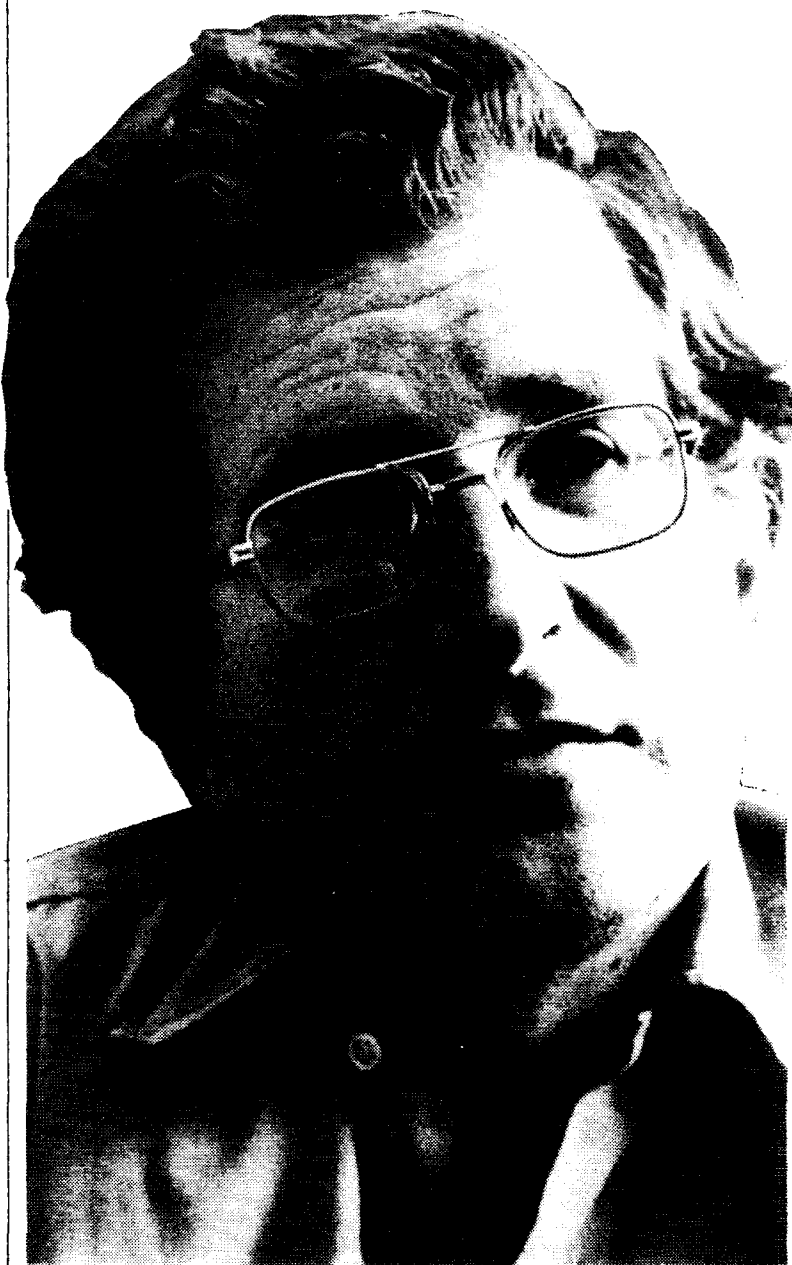
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# Short Notice



Ramones

## Records

### ROAD TO RUIN

The Ramones (Sire)

Although the very idea of the boys from Queens "breaking new ground" may sound ridiculous on the face of it, that's just what the most conservative of the minimalists have done. They've slowed down the pace and made their most melodic and satisfying album. —B.D.

### BLOODY TOURISTS

10 CC (Polydor Records)

Reminiscent of the Beatles' White Album period in its wit, diversity of styles, rich harmonies and clean production. Ultra-polished and pleasant rock, with side excursions into calypso and reggae. —B.D.

### BACK TO THE MIDWEST NIGHT

Arlyn Gale (ABC)

Bruce Springsteen meets Meatloaf in Arlyn Gale, and it's not surprising. But it's a bummer. The mastermind behind this poor clone is Mike Appel, Springsteen's former manager who lost him after *Born to Run*. The themes are trendy and the sound's all right, but there's no individuality—C.W.

### THE BRIDE STRIPPED BARE

Bryan Ferry (Atlantic)

Backed by most of Linda Ronstadt's band, the former leader of Roxy Music still sings with affection, but his dips into Memphis

soul (Sam and Dave's "Hold On" and Otis Redding's "That's How Strong My Love Is") change and match the power of the originals. —C.W.

### BARITONE MADNESS

Nick Brignola Sextet (Bee Hive)

Pepper Adams joins Brignola in an attempt to transform three tunes by alto master Charlie Parker into vehicles for hard-blowing baritone. It strikes me as an almost most interesting academic exercise. No really out of the ordinary good bop, except for the perpetually tasteful drumming of Roy Haynes, master of cymbals. This is not the album that is going to make me get rid of all my old Gerry Mulligan records. —G.M.



10CC

### MANHATTAN SYMPHONIE

Dexter Gordon Quartet (Columbia)

Gordon's finally getting his due as a fine tenor player. Like his other recent albums, this is

tasteful with occasional flashes of brilliance. His "Body and Soul" sounds relaxed without losing any firmness of line. Consistent listening pleasure. —G.M.

### SATCH AND JOSH...AGAIN

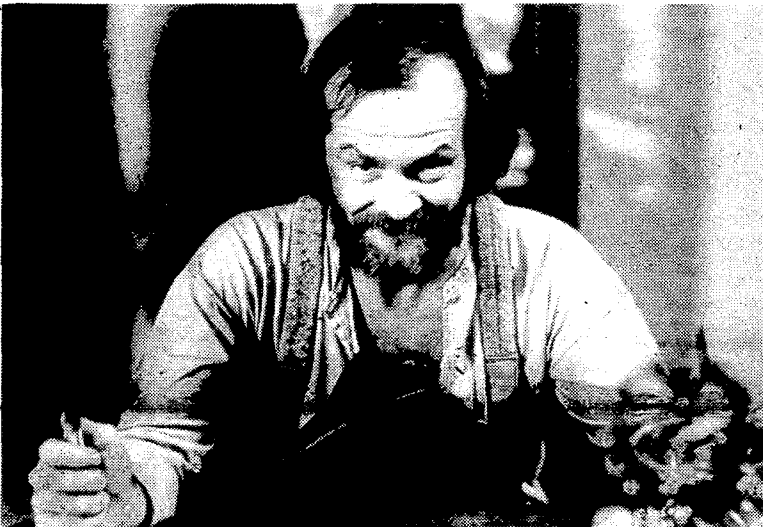
Oscar Peterson and Count Basie (Pablo)

A bit looser and less challenging than the first "Satch and Josh" recording, but nonetheless a delightful encounter between two very different stylists. Except for a few moments of thunderous fury, Peterson tempers his more flamboyant modern style to fit snugly into the spaces amidst the Count's impeccable single-note musings. —D.R.

### MR. GONE

Weather Report (Columbia)

Josef Zawinul's composing talents and synthesizer wizardry keep Weather Report well above the unadventurous level of most jazz-rock fusion. But the de-emphasis of Wayne Shorter's saxophone has gutted the group's music of most of its emotional impact. —D.R.



Goin' South

### OPEN AIR SUIT

Air (Arista Novus)

Dense and turbulent free jazz like this is by no means easy listening. But Air is a reeds-bass-drums trio of musical equals with uncanny sensitivity to each other. There's a secret cooperation to this jagged and angular music that gives almost visible shape to these abstract sound sculptures. For those dedicated to "outside" jazz. —D.R.

### NEW DIRECTIONS

Jack DeJohnette (ECM)

Long, spacious group improvisations, with a fragile balance of high energy lyricism and humor. The combination of Manfred Eicher's sparkling production and masterful drumming of DeJohnette results in richly-textured free-form music of stark beauty and unusual accessibility. A good place to start listening to free-form avant-garde jazz. —D.R.

## Movies

### ALTERNATIVE CINEMA CONFERENCE

This conference, to be held in early June 1979 in NYC, will be a five-day meeting (with workshops, screenings, and panel discussions) of people involved in production, distribution, use and criticism of independent film and video tapes on social issues. Interested? Write the conference c/o *Cineaste*, 333 6th Ave., NYC 10014.

### GOIN' SOUTH

(Paramount)

Lackluster comic Western about a rakish horse thief (Jack Nicholson, also the director here), forced to marry a finicky virgin. Essentially a show-off piece for Nicholson's outrageous mugging,

of the heiress' murder. Bette Davis and Maggie Smith as lady and maid snipe at each other wonderfully, and Mia Farrow sparkles. But if you missed it, don't mourn. —P.A.

### AUTUMN SONATA

(New World)

After his strangely stunned and confused journey into the public world in *The Serpent's Egg*, Ingmar Bergman has again returned to his island of private anguish. He has made a beautifully framed and lit and brilliantly acted chamber drama about a mother-daughter relationship. The film is ferocious, painful, and subtle, and if at moments it seems too clinical, it never becomes reductive. For Bergman, mother and daughter are both destroyer and victim, and all human relationships are riven by resentment, rage, silence, and the possibility of love. —L.Q.



Magic

### MAGIC (20th-Century Fox)

A two-bit magician (Anthony Hopkins) rises to fame with his sassy ventriloquist's dummy. Or...is it just a dummy? Do we care? No. Ann-Margret has to pretend she does. Painful, pointless. —P.A.

### WHO IS KILLING THE GREAT CHEFS OF EUROPE?

(Warner Brothers)

A stylishly silly romantic comedy. The great chefs of Europe are being killed off in ways befitting their special dishes; indelicately fat and witty Robert Morley is an acid-tongued food critic. Ted Kotcheff's direction is bright, but the romantic subplot (George Segal, fast food king, tries to win back ex-wife Jacqueline Bissett, world's dessert queen) is too predictable. —T.B.

Contributions by Pat Aufderheide, Bruce Dancis, Derk Richardson, Carlo Wolff, Garaud MacTaggart, Leonard Quart.

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WOMEN, TRADE UNIONISTS — SPEAK OUT FOR THE ERA Join a panel of speakers featuring Rev. Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH. Chicago, Nov. 18. For time and place, call 663-0490 or 236-5564. Free admission.

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The last time I taught film, the students and I were happy together until we got to the section on documentaries. The lights went out, and so did they. They didn't want to think about documentaries, they said later. And they certainly did not want to talk about them.

Film means "movies" to most of us, and movies promise dreams and thrills—not art that makes you think about the world. The vast wash of commercial film and video sells itself on the dream qualities of its products.

Documentary filmmakers work against the cultural grain, giving us facts in a format where we've so often been promised ecstasy at just one small remove. And yet documentary film and videotapes are also important vehicles for people who want to make sense of the world.

Three recent short documentaries, two film and one videotape, demonstrate different ways to hold attention while side-stepping romantic promise. All are competent, but limited.

### Tight-lipped ex-agent.

*CIA Case Officer* uses an interview to reveal the personality of an ex-CIA officer and to raise questions of morality. It has the high technical quality one expects from Saul Landau and Haskell Wexler. It is also a tightly-paced 30 minutes of confrontation.

The conflict we sense is no accident. Landau argues against thinking of left film as "a tool for organizing"; first, he says, it should be good watching. "A lot of left or independent films," he argues, "simply record or describe, or will take an adoring attitude toward a subject, which will kill you dramatically." Here, he built in tension by finding "the crucial time when the filmmaker has to push his subject in order to reveal him."

We expect this ex-agent to tell us how he finally realized his secret work for the CIA conflicted with his moral upbringing. Instead, he is most upset by the organization's inefficiency. You keep looking for a straight answer from him; instead, you get only convoluted justifications.

## Want to watch a movie at the next meeting?

*CIA Case Officer* has a broad appeal, because it is watchable. It should work well on TV, because it works as a character study of one person. It would also work well in values clarification sessions in schools, because it demonstrates a conflict between accepted standards for success and received morality. But as a one-on-one interview, the insight it adds to our understanding of secret service personnel is necessarily limited. Stockwell's cold calculations hardly surprise.

### Frank executives.

*Controlling Interest's* subject is not a person but a problem: the social effects of multinational (MNC) operations. The film is a fact-packed, fast-paced essay. Unlike some earlier films from Newsreel, it has high technical quality and good editing.

The 45-minute film presents three types of information. First are the statements of corporate executives. They frankly acknowledge their priorities: profits, international expansion of markets, cheap labor. We also see social effects of such growth overseas, in Brazil and in Chile. Finally, we learn possible responses with one case: Greenfield, MA, where a factory threatened to move and union officials co-ordinated a town's attempt to hold it there. The simply-spoken union president describes limited alternatives to union members—and us—with pain and clarity.

*Controlling Interest* does not lecture or preach. It tells "both sides of the story." But even better, it uses executives' statements to define the problem, so that the social disaster we see is information resulting from their words, not in opposition to them.

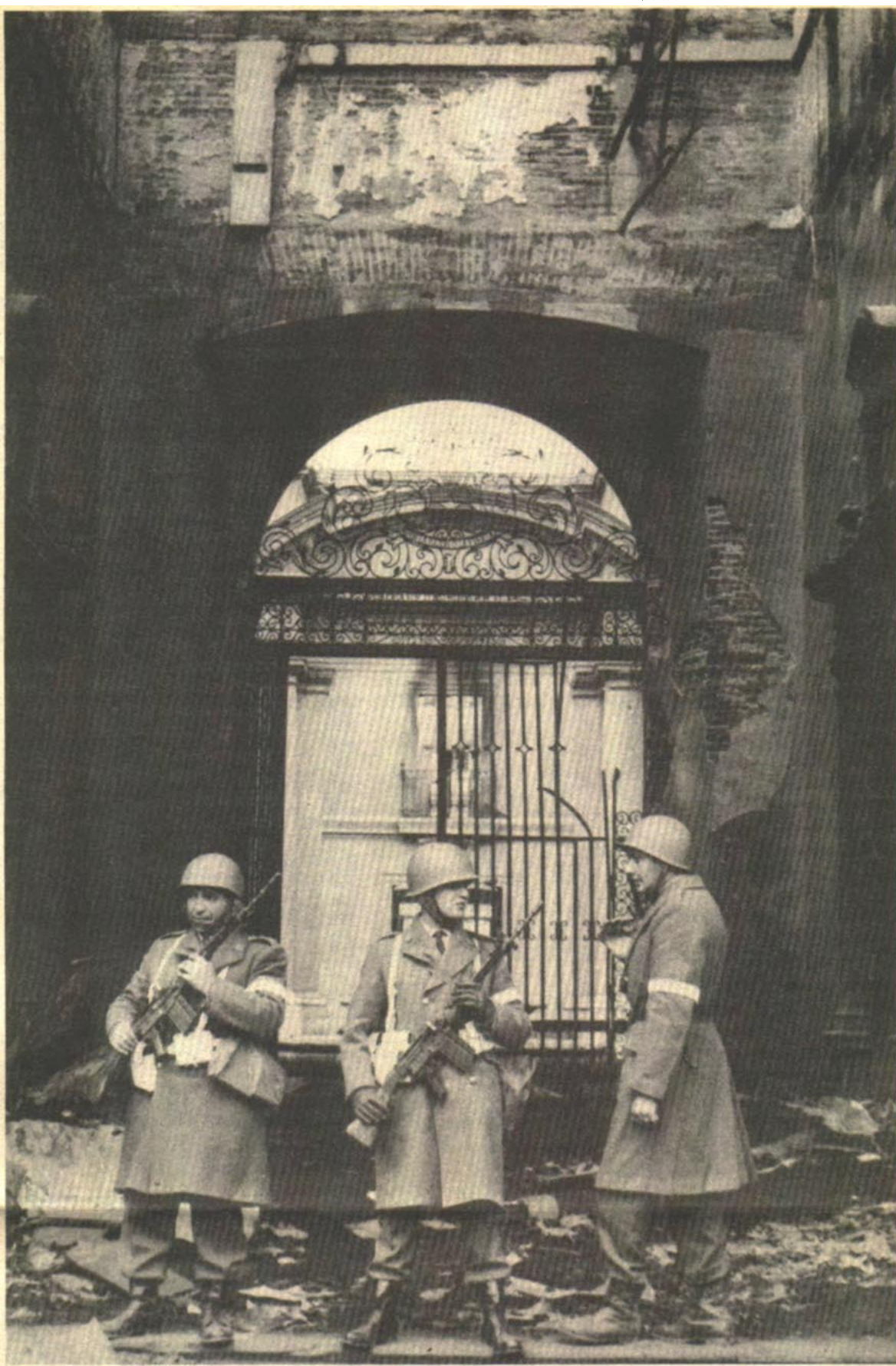
It's a well-made educational film for working people. Unions (UAW, IAM, UE, among others) now own copies, and the Chicago Eighth Day Center, a religious organization, has a copy in constant demand.

### Women on welfare.

*Forced Work*, a videotape, records a social problem from the point of view of the people living it. Women on AFDC must now work once their youngest child is six, and they usually work at or below minimum wage, which rarely gets them off welfare and reinforces a poverty cycle.

The 45-minute tape takes three Twin Cities women whose children have turned six through their arguments with welfare officials. Unlike the structural tension of *CIA* or *Controlling Interest*, this tape, made with a coalition of welfare recipients, stays in sympathy with the people interviewed. It thus has an honest and accurate tone, but it lacks drama.

The strengths of this approach can also be weaknesses. The tape well conveys the tedium of the women's choices—or absence of



*CONTROLLING INTEREST* recalls multinationals' role in undermining Allende's Chile.

them. But the message also makes for tedious viewing. The women break a stereotype of "welfare loafers." They are articulate, ambitious, angry, and willing to be reasonable given a chance. But they sometimes diverge so far from a stereotype that we get sidetracked into purely personal questions instead of building their case against welfare.

Unlike *Controlling Interest*, the tape does not develop an argument about a systemic problem. Its goal is to show us what daily life is like under a program of forced work. And unlike *CIA*, the film's goal is to introduce us to people behind an issue, not to expose their operating assumptions.

The clearly genuine cases work to do that. But because of its understated presentation, the tape cannot appeal to disinterested or uninformed people on the basis of a dramatic structure. It has, on the other hand, worked well in organizing situations. At a recent showing in Milwaukee, welfare recipients shouted, "I know!" "Yeah!" "Good for you!" to the women on tape. Afterwards, the same women answered questions from others in the audience about the way welfare works. Similarly, a public access television station in Madison will air the tape along with a call-in program to welfare recipients.

Although they choose different approaches and audiences, these products have a common advantage. They challenge preconceptions, and raise questions about

the way we see social relations and problems. They also share a common disability: distribution.

Distribution centers like Tricontinental Films in New York, California Newsreel in San Francisco, the national video distribution through University Community Video, and organizations that include distribution like the Institute

for Policy Studies, make it easier to find independent left film and video. But even among left independent films, shorts get little attention, especially in the press; they are a reminder of the real-life limits on freedom of information. Access is everything; and you have to know about it to want it. —Pat Aufderheide

## CULTURE SHOCK



### CONTRA-DICTIONS

Italy's largest publisher, Mondadori, just bought, for a record price of \$30,000, translation rights on Bertell Ollman's board game, *Class Struggle*. The Italian Communist party may be too embarrassed to play: the game's rules outlaw alliances with capitalists such as the PCI's

"historic compromise."

### SMALL CHANGE

Who's happiest about the upcoming small-sized dollar coin with Susan B. Anthony's likeness on it? Not feminists, but vending machine interests (\$9 billion in yearly sales, says *Dollars and Sense*). They lobbied for

years for a larger-amount coin that wouldn't require machine retooling.

### GOOD NIGHT, AMERICA

Today one of six Americans takes tranquilizers regularly (70 percent are women). British medical journal *Lancet* recently estimated "total tranquilization of the U.S. by the year 2000."







Loggers block the border in early May to keep Canadians out.

Photos/Rural America

# BORDER WARS IN THE FOREST

By Lance Tapley

**W**ORKING IN THE WOODS, as logging is called in Maine, is statistically the riskiest of jobs: falling trees crush backs; chain saws cut off hands. And it is poor work in the poorest state outside the South. An average woodsman earns \$6,500 a year.

There are about 5,000 full-time loggers and 4,000 part-timers in this last big forest in the northeast. The wood is cut largely for seven paper companies, all headquartered outside the state. Some are huge international corporations such as Georgia Pacific, Boise Cascade, International Paper.

Most loggers work in teams of a few men for small, "independent" contractors to the companies. Woodsmen supply their own \$400 chain saws. The contractors, who work side by side with their employees, have to invest in \$40,000 trucks and \$35,000 skidders, which are special log-hauling tractors.

It is piecework, and the company sets the price. For contractors and employees there are no fringes—no health insurance, though logging destroys the health of many men. A disease caused by the chain saw is called Dead Man's Hands.

## Foreign labor.

A couple of thousand full-time loggers are French Canadians in the U.S. on "permanent" visas supposedly granted for immigration. Or they are bonded labor. They are employed directly by the companies or by a few large labor contractors. They receive regular—though low—pay and some fringes.

They are grateful. Maine yields a hard life, but it is harder in Quebec. The French, long discriminated against in their own country, are loyal to their American employers. They produce. Some work 70 hours a week and put in for 40 hours pay. Some are worn out at the age of 35. Their production sets the pace and helps the company explain away the low pay of others. The Canadians will deliver to the mill if the Americans ever thought of not delivering. On weekends, the French, who never mix with Americans, go back to Canada. Their families spend an American paycheck; our dollars are worth more.

In the warm night of Aug. 17, 1977, not long after wood deliveries had been cut back at the St. Regis Paper company, about 40 Americans armed with clubs and axes approached the 20 cabins of the St. Regis logging camp near First Machias

Lake in eastern Maine. Telephone and power lines were cut. Windows were broken. Nineteen French loggers were driven away. They were told to go back to their country.

## Woodsmen organize.

The protests' leader is a small labor organization, the Maine Woodsmen's Association (MWA). Soon after the First Machias Lake raid, 13 MWA men, in-

peals court that contractors were in fact employees should have eliminated the antitrust ploy, but the companies still successfully argue before the National Labor Relations Board that men who are contractors can't be in bargaining units. Thus the MWA, which considers contractors and employees in the same bind, has yet to form a unit. In company camps the predominance of Canadians prevents MWA units from being created.



cluding Wayne Birmingham, president, and Bill Butler, vice-president, were charged with aggravated criminal mischief, a felony, and trespass, a misdemeanor. Birmingham and Butler were also charged with the felony of terrorizing. Their trials may take place in the coming months. They have pleaded not guilty.

The MWA and its leaders were also charged with contempt of an injunction laid down two years earlier during an MWA-sponsored strike of several thousand woodsmen that shut down the Diamond International mill in Old Town and reduced production at other mills. The injunction severely limited picketing. Its effect was to stop the strike. For the contempt charges the paper companies have convinced the judge to allow their lawyers to be hired as prosecutors. Trials have not yet been scheduled.

The MWA strike was in October 1975. The group had been formed in July of that year by woodsmen themselves. Its goals are better pay and working conditions and better forest management. It fears that, if the companies' harvesting methods continue, after a time there might not be much woods left to cut.

From time to time the companies fire MWA activists. They have never made the going smooth for labor organizers. They shut off organizing for years by maintaining in court that contractors and their men could not strike because this was restraint of trade in violation of antitrust laws. A 1973 ruling by a federal ap-

But by law they cannot be required to pay into the state any more than the cost of the "services"—six small schools, etc.—they receive. As a result the take from nearly half the land in Maine is frozen at less than 1 percent of the state's total revenues.

The MWA also protests the state's allowing the companies to cut timber as they wish. Increasingly, instead of men doing the cutting, gargantuan machines are chomping into the forest, leaving swaths of Hiroshima-like devastation. Reforestation is rarely done. The industry claims natural reproduction is sufficient. The MWA points out that the desired species naturally thrive in the shade of their own kind, and unless these areas are replanted it will be a long, long time before another crop can be harvested.

Some people believe the companies even control the unions in their domain. A few years ago the companies reportedly invited the United Paperworkers International union to move into the camps and organize the French. In consequence, the UPIU's woodsmen's units now have 1,900 Canadians out of 2,200 men. Their contracts with the companies "leave a great deal to be desired," says John Hanson of the University of Maine's labor education bureau.

## A blurred public image.

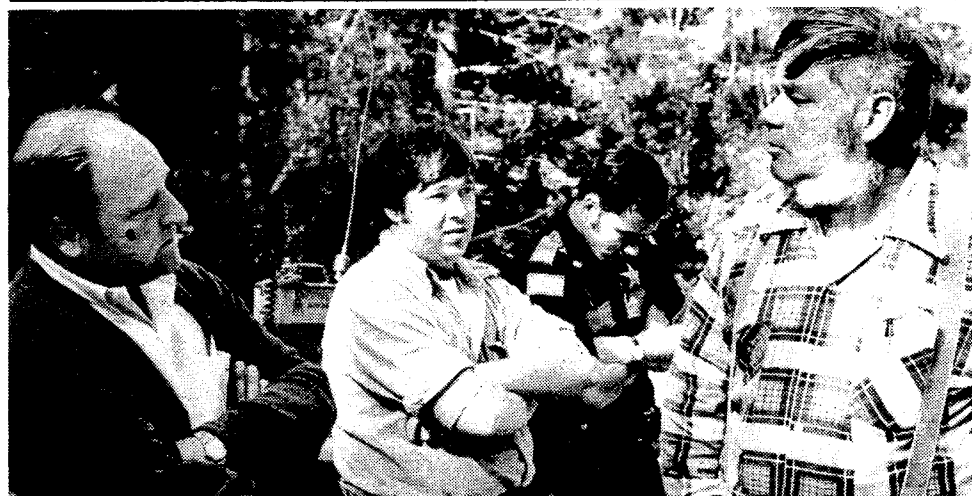
The public reception of the MWA has been mixed. A small group, Friends of the Maine Woodsmen, has raised a few hundred dollars for the MWA legal fund. Many of the public are ignorant of the controversy because the Maine press, with rare exceptions, has done little to cover the story. In a poor state popular wisdom sees the paper companies as good employers because they pay millworkers better than shoe companies. And many have been turned off from the MWA by the violence.

The MWA is beset with other difficulties. Money is one. The leaders work from their homes, financed by \$6-a-month dues which some of the members can pay. The group has yet to solve the problem of establishing bargaining units, which may require the hard decision to exclude contractors. John Hanson thinks that the paper companies have successfully diverted the MWA from collective bargaining. "The struggle should not be with other workers," he maintains. He feels that trying to chase the French out of the Maine woods smacks of "racism" and that the Canadians could be organized with Americans.

If MWA people were responsible for the First Machias Lake raid, this may indicate a carelessness about means to an end that could make them unattractive to the kind of people who rallied to Cesar Chavez.

Despite the difficulties, it seems improbable that having come this far, the movement could be easily broken. A potential for widespread support exists through the MWA's insistence that Maine people look earnestly at the future of their greatest resource. With the forest-management cause the group is making the far-sighted connection between the environment's preservation and the preservation of jobs and of Maine's economy. The forest is only as renewable as it is treated.

*Lance Tapley, a free-lance writer, is also executive secretary of Maine Common Cause. This article appeared originally in Rural America.*



Paper companies and police keep MWA vice-president William Butler (right) from handing out leaflets.